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See Jacobs' lecture on "The Wealth of the
Greeks in Works of Plastic Art,"
"Ancient Literature & Art", edited
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H. W. Wagner.

LECTURES ON ANCIENT ART.

By **RAOUL ROCHETTE.**



MINERVA, FROM THE GEM OF ASPASUS.

LONDON :
ARTHUR HALL, VIRTUE & Co., 25, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1854.

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PREFACE.

As in the following lectures R. Rochette strongly defends the taste for Polychromatic Sculpture, I would wish to say a few words with regard to what I consider a mistaken idea which generally prevails on the subject of colouring sculpture, which was sometimes practised by the Greeks, and particularly as the example of the Greeks has been advanced by the first sculptor of the age as his authority for colouring his statue of Venus. It is generally supposed that the celebrated Greek sculptors coloured the nude parts of their marble statues. This mistake has arisen from a misconception of the word *circumlitio*, which expresses a painting round (*περιχρσις*) a framing of the borders of drapery, the hair; a painting of the ground around the figures, in order to separate and make them stand out, as Quintilian, viii. § 2, shows: a "*circumductio colorum in extremitatibus figurarum quâ ipsa figura aptius finiuntur et eminentius extant.*" This practice was confined alone to the metopes, bas reliefs, and the background of statues in pediments, and all such objects as were placed high up and were to be seen from a distance. The effect was calculated for height and distance. The most ancient instance of which, one of the metopes from one of the temples of Selinus, I have given. A modern instance we have in the so-called Wedgwood ware. We may

remark further, that it was practised only at an archaic period, for Plutarch tells us that the ancient statues (*τα παλαια των αγαλματων*) were daubed with vermilion, and no stronger evidence can be adduced of the imperfection, antiquity, and, we may add, barbarism of the art in any nation, than this custom of painting sculpture, as may be seen in the early sculptures of Assyria, India, and Mexico. The *καυσις* applied by the so-called painters of statues, *αγαλματων εγκαυσται*, to the nude parts, was not paint or colouring, but white wax melted with oil, which was laid on with a thick brush, and rubbed dry: *ita signa marmorea nuda curantur*, Vitruvius says—a practice adopted by Canova. On the other hand, we have no proof that the Greeks coloured the nude parts of their statues; on the contrary, we have positive evidence that the masterpiece of antiquity (which may be an example to all modern sculptors) the Cnidian Venus of Praxiteles was colourless. That the Venus de' Medici had her hair gilt cannot be adduced as any evidence, for in the opinion of Flaxman, to whose correct taste this fashion was totally repugnant, it is a deteriorated variety of the Venus of Praxiteles, and consequently of a later period, when art was in a declining and degraded state. We may therefore be led to this conclusion, that the custom of colouring sculpture was only practised at the worst periods of art, at the archaic period, and when it was in its decline. See his *Handbook of Sculpture*, p. 219.

H. M. W.
W. M. W.

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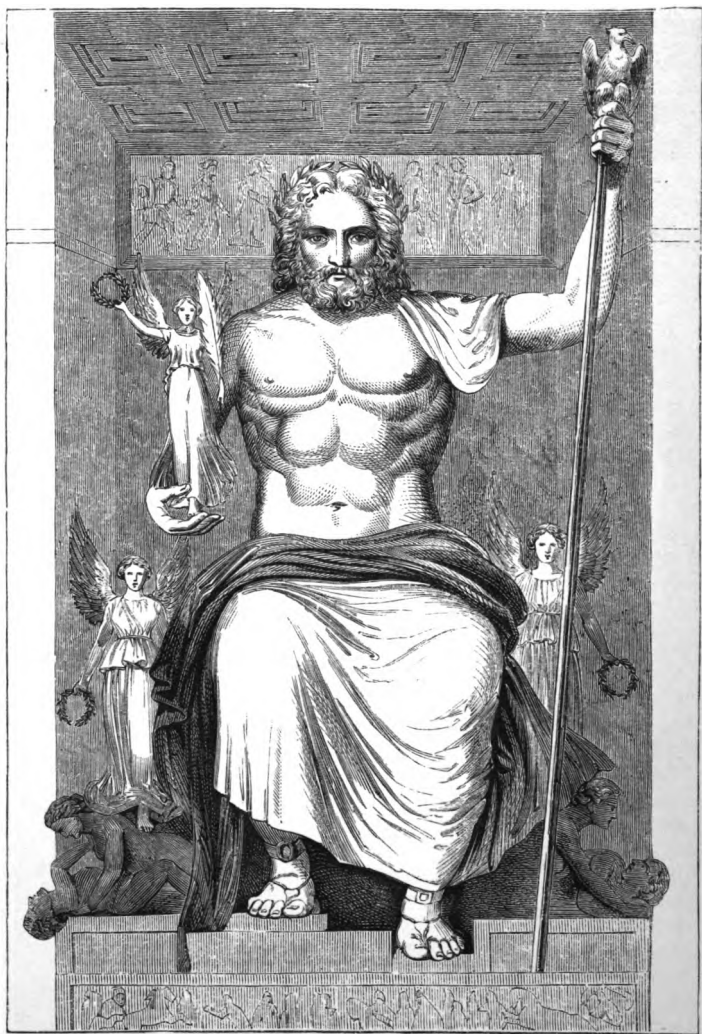
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ERRATUM.

Page 143, lines 1, 2, for "convey correct expression," read "connect expression."



JUPITER OLYMPIUS OF PHIDIAS.

LECTURES ON ANCIENT ART.

FIRST LECTURE.

General idea of the Lectures—Examination of the Question, whether Greek Art has owed its Birth and Development to the Influence of Egyptian Art? —This Question is solved negatively, after an examination of the genius of these two Arts, and of the Monuments which belong to it—Parallel between the manner in which Art arose and was developed among the Greeks, and the manner in which it flourished again among the Moderns—Conclusion.

GENTLEMEN,

The history of art among the ancients, considered in its general bearing, I mean to say in its genius and its general development, shall be the subject of our discourse this year. Questions of deep interest, a great number of important monuments shall naturally be brought forward in the course of these lectures, according as the order of time shall introduce the mention of ancient works of which detailed descriptions or faithful memorials have come down to us. We shall keep out of view in this disquisition, all questions regarding the chronology of ancient artists, questions always controverted and perhaps impossible to solve. It is the genius of art itself, considered in its principal productions, among which we shall search out with care all imitations which have been preserved to the present day, and also considered in its principles, which shall be the special object of our attention.

The rest may occupy or amuse the learned, or exercise the mind, but little certain or useful knowledge results from it. It is the same with those researches which regard the essence of art, the causes which produce, develope, or corrupt it;

the principles which direct it, the vicissitudes it experiences ; for these are subjects in which the theory and example of the ancients can be a useful and practical lesson to us, or at least an instructive and interesting spectacle.

The first question which shall present itself to our meditations, is to inquire, whether Grecian art arose and was developed under foreign influence, or whether it was indebted alone for its first essays and its ultimate form to its own powers alone, and to its own inspiration ; a question indeed far less important than is generally thought, and which in the manner in which it is generally introduced, presents a subject matter for curiosity rather than any real utility. That in the first ages in which art was as yet but a rude handicraft, in which rude idols, fashioned for the necessities of religion, received the more readily the homage of superstition, inasmuch as they presented scarcely any feature of imitation, the Greeks may have followed and copied the Egyptians, is of little consequence to the history of art. Art commences in reality but where imitation begins ; and if the Greeks had never done but what the Egyptians always did, that is, reproduce eternally figures which figures never had any type in the world, no existence in nature, in other words, only constantly repeat objects without reality, it might be sustained with some foundation, that the one had imitated the other ; but it can be said with still greater certainty of one and the other, that they never had any art. In thus reducing the question to its genuine terms, we shall say, as long as the Greeks produced nothing but figures devoid of all imitation, it is of little consequence whether they did so through instinct or incapability, as infant nations do everywhere, and as children also in civilised nations do everywhere, or whether they followed a foreign impulse, that of Egypt or any other country. This question, thus stated, is foreign to the history of art, and under this view it is, to speak the truth, of slender interest ; but there is something else in this question which may suggest more serious considerations and lead to a more complete solution which I shall now dwell on. If there is a fact well authenticated by the attestation of history, by all the monuments of antiquity, it is this, that art, considering it here only in a technical and natural view, I mean the power of producing images of men more or less resembling men, remained constantly in Egypt at the same point, and that, on the contrary, in Greece, it was

in a state of continual progress. This important, indisputable fact, is already sufficient to clearly establish the difference of the genius of the two nations, in what concerns their manner of conceiving art, and of treating it. From the moment the Egyptians had arrived at a period of which we have no knowledge, and by ways which we shall probably never know, at fixing the type of its idols, it adopted this type and never changed it afterwards; whether it was on its part custom or want of genius, superstition or philosophy, prejudice or reason, I shall not examine at this moment; it is sufficient for me to establish this fact which cannot be contested by any one; that Egyptian art once arrived at a point at which it was determined to stop, advanced no further, never retrograded, remained firm, immovable, unassailable, like its colossi, like its temples, like its pyramids. This result, whatever may have been the causes of it, is certainly very remarkable; there is in this character of permanence, of immutability, of durability stamped on all the monuments of a people, as well as on all its ideas, a phenomenon certainly unique in the history of the human mind, a feature in the highest degree deserving of our studies; but it is as a philosophical question, that this persistency of Egypt in its principles of art and of taste recommends itself to our studies, or even to our admiration; as a question of art itself it is already judged, by this sole fact, that this art in the hands of the Egyptians never experienced any vicissitudes, never pursued any course, regular or irregular, progressive or retrograde. Let any one, in fact, examine the monuments of Egyptian art, there is always the same spirit, the same character, the same type, eternally, obstinately, reproduced, without any other difference than that which unavoidably results from the skill of the workman, or the quality of the material, or from the management of the tools. Thanks to the ingenious and learned investigations which have raised a corner of the veil behind which ancient Egypt remained concealed to the ancients themselves, we know with every certainty, that among those monuments of Egyptian art which have come down to us, there are some belonging to the times of the first Pharaohs as well as to those of the last Ptolemies. We can thus compare at a single glance, a boundless historic period, a vast space of time, during which the human mind, everywhere but in Egypt, had passed through all the stages of civilisation, and passed from

the savage state of the first inhabitants of Greece to the dominion of the arts of philosophy and literature; from the cabins of the Pelasgi to the Parthenon; from the images in wood of Dædalus to the Jupiter Olympius of Phidias; from the fabulous Orpheus and from the mythological Amphion to Plato and Sophocles; lastly, from the age of Cæcrops to that of Pericles. Now what do we see in those Egyptian statues ranged before our eyes in an almost uninterrupted series for nearly fifteen centuries from Sesostris Ramses to Ptolemy Philadelphus, to prevent us from speaking of them in the lowest terms? The same figure constantly reproduced under the same features, covered with the same symbols, accompanied by the same attributes, executed in wood or in stone, in red or gray granite, sculptured or painted, and the more frequently both, on a large or small scale, from sixty feet or over to six inches, with somewhat more or somewhat less of delicacy of execution, for which it was indebted to the material itself in which it was wrought, and to the hand which directed it, so that in that vast field of imitation on which art has exercised itself on every material, in every proportion, and on every subject, from the Divinity to man, and from man to the brute, there is in reality but one type for each individual; and never any individual form or feature for any of them, never a god which may in reality be deemed a god, never a man which differs essentially from another man; never any real object of imitation, and consequently no true image of art.

The observation I have just made is established by a great many facts easily verified, and in accordance with such undoubted attestations, that any exceptions, if there are any, and I acknowledge that I do not admit that there are any, would be absolutely without influence on the question which occupies us. That in some statues of a workmanship peculiarly Egyptian, the primitive type of these statues may have been more or less modified by the intention of imitation on the part of the artist; that in a great number of these statues evidently of Grecian workmanship, the imitative genius of that nation may be involuntarily stamped on productions the most opposite to it; these are but particular cases, necessarily very rare, rather than accidental deviations from the general system. The fundamental principle of art in Egypt, being the absence of art, all which could tend to improve it according to our ideas, could not but materially alter it according to those of

the Egyptians, all intention of imitation in a type consecrated by religion and by political rule, was not only a fault, but still more, a kind of sacrilege; a figure correctly drawn would have been not only a thing unheard of, it would have been almost an act of impiety. I do not doubt that a divinity under the form of the Venus de' Medici, or of the Apollo Belvedere, would have appeared monstrous to ancient Egypt; and it is certain, that never was such a cause of complaint given to that country.

Let us consider the other element of the question; I speak of Grecian art. And first of all, let us endeavour to form a just idea of what remains of it, by comparing it with what we have lost. Of the 60,000 statues which composed in the beginning of the last century, that part of the ancient population of modern Rome, and the number of which has been still more considerably increased by recent discoveries, without reckoning the abundance of riches of that kind obtained by the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii; of those 60,000 statues there are scarcely a hundred, which by unanimous consent, can be considered of the first order, and over a thousand which are not of marble. Among these works, which are considered by us as the type of perfection, there are some, such as the Belvedere Apollo and the Mercury, the Venus of Milo, the Amazon of the Vatican, the Diana of the French Museum, the family of Niobe, the authors of whom we do not in any way know. Others, such as the Hercules Farnese of Glycon, the Venus de' Medici by Cleomenes, the famous Torso of the Belvedere by Apollonius, the Borghese gladiator of Agasias, the Centaurs of the Capitol by Aristeeas and Papias of Aphrodisias, are by artists certainly not without merit, nor probably without fame in antiquity, but who are not in any way mentioned in the numerous list which Pausanias, Pliny, and other ancient authors have handed down to us of the most celebrated statuaries. It is, therefore, almost certain that we do not possess almost any original work of those artists whose fame has filled the world. Add to this, that almost all those statues which have come down are of marble, a material on which, with very few exceptions, art never exercised itself in Greece until a period when it was nearly verging to decline.

Phidias, and consequently his predecessors, Alcamenes, Myron, Polycletus; and his rivals or disciples, Lysippus,

Praxiteles himself, although the latter made a few statues in marble, worked almost exclusively in bronze, or in materials, such as ivory, and precious metals, the mixture of which was singularly pleasing to ancient Greece. Statues of bronze, of gold, of ivory, even of wood by Phidias are noticed; but one or two in marble have been noticed, even this is but uncertain tradition. Lysippus whose works according to Pliny, reached 1500, produced none but statues of bronze.

Among the works which remain to us, and which answer the descriptions of some master-pieces of antiquity, such as the Apollo Sauroctonos, the Faun named the Famous, and the Cupid of Praxiteles, the Discobolus of Myron, the Amazon of Polycletus; we know positively, that the originals were in bronze, consequently that we possess but copies of them, since we have them in marble. Even the Apollo Belvedere is very probably but a copy of a statue in bronze, and a copy of a Roman age, since the marble is Italian. The greater number of the most beautiful monuments of ancient art, which have come down to us, are then copies of works of a superior order; but as may be well understood, this observation does not in any way tend to diminish in our eyes the merit of these excellent works, which are not the less master-pieces, though they may be by unknown masters. But it makes us appreciate more fully Grecian art, in its original productions, and in this respect, I firmly believe, that however high we may be able to raise our ideas from the merit of the copies, it will be always difficult for us to reach the sublimity of their models.

After this preliminary observation, let us cast a glance on what remains to us of Greek art considered in its general development. We possess no monument connected with the first period, or as is generally said, with the infancy of art, with that age, in which rude idols produced by a coarse handicraft, and bearing a great resemblance to a figure in swaddling clothes, were the sole objects of public worship. We possess yet fewer of a period still earlier than the latter, of the time in which the gods of Greece were but round or square stones, cut into cippi or columns, to which separate names were given in order to make them distinct deities: such were the thirty square stones which were preserved at Phares, in Achaia, in the time of Pausanias; such were the Jupiter Milichius, and the Diana Patroa, which were worshipped at Sicyon. Even Cupid and the Graces were as yet, in these primitive periods,

but simple stones, and the Venus of Paphos was not otherwise; we see her thus represented in a number of monuments of a more recent age, but of undoubted authority. It is evident that where there did not exist even the rude outline of any form, art was not yet born; consequently, that no influence, either Egyptian or any other could have been exercised, nor was in fact exercised in those first rude objects of superstition of a savage people. But at length a time came, when this people attempted to give to its idols an appearance, although imperfect, of the human form; and from that time, art was born with that rude attempt at imitation. This first attempt consisted in adding to a cylindrical body, a head, feet, and hands, rudely fashioned. Greece revered for a long time, even in the period of its splendour, two idols executed in this primitive form, in which the original type of the column prevailed in the imperfect imitation of the human body: I mean the colossus in bronze of Apollo, at Amycles, and of the Diana of Ephesus, of which such a number of copies have come down to us, all shaped in a conical form, and the greater number with the head and feet of *black* marble, and the body of *white* marble, without doubt to indicate the primitive type of these idols, which must have been of wood of a brown colour, or blackened by age. The greater number of the statues of the first age of Greek sculpture, recal more or less this primitive form, proceeding from the column or the cylinder; such were those idols of the Palladium, of Venus Chryse, of Diana Taurica, which have been frequently found represented on monuments of a later age, especially on Greek vases, idols in the shape of a case, with the feet pressed one against the other, the arms stretched down the side of the body, in fine without any imitation of precise form. Soon handicraft industry, advancing towards perfection, produced images in which the features of the human countenance, and the forms of the body were rudely imitated. This progress, which Greece attributed to its fabulous Dædalus, a generic name under which we must understand a whole school of artists; this progress consisted in opening the eyes and the mouth, in separating the feet and the arms of the figures, so as to give them some appearance of motion and life. It was at this point that Egypt remained willingly enchained; for the perfection of the workmanship by which it produced those imperfect images, proves that it was willingly that it followed this manner, and it is at this point

alone that Greece could be connected with it. We possess, indeed, some monuments in which this conformity appears striking at the first glance. There are some figures of bronze considered Etruscan, some terra-cottas found particularly in Sicily, and some compositions in bas-relief, either in stone or metal, or on earthen vases, also of Etruscan origin, which I shall speak of in the course of these lectures, and a great number of which are as yet unedited, not to speak of the primitive coins of some Greek nations; all monuments which present in the conformation of the features of the countenance, in the drawing and the motion of the forms of the body, an Egyptian physiognomy. But does it follow from this apparent or real connection, that Grecian art borrowed from Egyptian art the type of these figures? This is precisely the question at issue: the following are some considerations which may serve to solve it. Let us recollect that the Greeks at first knew, I shall not say as monuments of art, but as objects of worship, nothing but conical or cylindrical stones; let us further remark, that having arrived at the point we have seen they had reached, that is at the point when they gave to their idols the features and the forms, more or less imperfect, of human nature, they raised themselves by successive degrees, and by a continued progress, to the highest point of perfection to which imitation could attain. Can any one now say that between that state of infancy, during which they were not indebted to the Egyptians for anything, for they found everywhere at hand round or square stones without having recourse to Egypt, and that state of gradual perfection, when no more than at first they certainly borrowed nothing from the Egyptians, for there never was discovered anything in Egypt which could resemble a Greek figure, there was an intermediate state, a transitional period, during which the Greeks were taught by the Egyptians? Strictly speaking it is possible, and I do not deny that some isolated facts, some few monuments, may seem to favour this supposition. Some communication, always, indeed, rare and partial, may have taken place between Egypt and Greece; some processes of art, some peculiar modes of manufacture, at distant periods may have been imported from one to the other; and during the space of time when these communications took place, a certain conformity of style and workmanship between the productions of these two nations may have resulted. This is neither impossible nor unlikely;

but I affirm that the aggregate of facts, that the generality of monuments is infinitely more favourable to the contrary opinion—that Grecian art was developed on its own soil, and by its own resources, without any foreign influence, without any foreign assistance.

In fact, from the moment that the sacred type of the Divine images had been fixed in Greece, such as a number of monuments represent to us, this type, which in its origin was never in any way indebted to the influence of Egyptian art, for it had emanated entirely from the cylindrical form to which a head, feet and hands had been adjusted; this type, more or less modified by the successive essays of a national school, such as that of Dædalus and his successors, was always distinct from the representation of Egyptian art such as the Greeks knew it—such as we know it, and when art gradually emancipating itself from the trammels of routine and from the bonds of superstition, departed from this consecrated type to seek in human nature another model, it is clear that Greece followed thence forward a path so different from Egypt that it could never afterwards have any connection with it.

If Pausanias appears to confound some idols wrought in the Egyptian style with those of the ancient Attic or Æginetan school, this solely proceeds from the extreme likeness which the productions of an art yet in its infancy bear to one another. This apparent identity proves nothing in fact but their common imperfection.

There was a time when the Greeks, ignorant of what the Egyptians did not know how, or did not wish to do, worked in an equally faulty and imperfect manner; this is a certainty. But it does not in any way follow from thence that one nation, in its real or systematical ignorance, was the teacher of the other; and still less that those who continued obstinately in always doing wrong, taught others to do better. It is as if any one asserted that modern painting, the work of time, taste and genius, was the fruit of the conventional forms and the rude models of the Byzantine school. The connection I have just pointed out furnishes us with the means of deciding in the most peremptory manner, in my opinion, the question which occupies us; and the parallel between the manner in which art arose and was developed in ancient Greece, and the manner in which the same art was awakened and flourished again in modern Europe, is sufficiently interesting in itself to

deserve our dwelling on it. It is well known that in the long and disastrous period of the middle ages, the arts were involved in the common decline of institutions, of manners, and literary pursuits. All perished, all was abolished, by degrees, of the ancient system of civilisation, before the new society had assumed a determinate form; but all the traditions of art were not lost with its genius. Conventionalism took the place of genius, and the habits of trade maintained themselves when the principles of taste declined more and more. Statues and paintings continued to be made for the necessities of religion, the only thing which had never been interrupted, no longer indeed with the taste and genius of the past age, but only with its instruments and processes. In a word, art continued always to be practised, though it was morally fallen. It was at Byzantium, which had become, from the time of Constantine, the seat of the new empire, and the refuge of ancient civilisation, that were principally preserved the ancient traditions of art, modified after the ideas of the new worship. Byzantium had always continued to belong to the Greeks, when the rest of the world had been inundated by barbarians. The processes, the customs of the Greeks with respect to art, were perpetuated there in almost the same manner as their language; and it is to this fortunate circumstance that the Greeks were, doubtless, indebted for the advantage of retaining in the midst of the universal barbarity and their own decline, the sceptre of taste, and the instruction of art. From thence arose the style called Byzantine, which became the common model of Europe, at a period when there was no longer any one in any country capable of seeing, observing, or deciphering nature. The new images that Christianity had created, the Eternal Father, Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles, the Saints, Angels, received in this system their features, their forms, their peculiar and characteristic costume. These types recognised everywhere, reproduced everywhere with that religious scrupulousness which is equally dependent on the sentiment of devotion and on the incapability of art, were everywhere executed by similar processes; and it was thus, that everything connected with the practice of art must have been maintained by tradition, by imitation, and by piety, principally in Italy, where barbarity had less sway, where religious worship always retained more pomp, where genius constantly struggled with greater success against oppression and ignorance. Thus can

be followed, almost without interruption, the history of painting in Italy, from the last period of the empire to that which has been called, the period of the revival of art, through the means of paintings, on the wall, and on wood, which still exist in many ancient churches, or of mosaics, which take their place by imitating them.

In all these paintings, as well as in those mosaics which are but a kind of counterfeit of them, executed from century to century by Greek artists, or those formed in the Greek school, the Byzantine type is invariably to be found, such as it had been fixed at a primitive period, such as has been produced in those Madonnas supposed to be by St. Luke, in which the veneration of the artist is so completely blended with the worship of the model and the veneration of the saint, that he would never doubtless have been allowed to depart from such a type, when even another image could have been conceived and realised. The same type exercised the same influence in Germany and in the Netherlands, where painting on wood, on glass, on the wall, and on parchment, was always assiduously cultivated, and this is the type which still reigned in all its authority, and consequently in all its imperfection, when the Florentine Cimabue attempted to emerge from the beaten track, and produced by this single trait of boldness so wonderful an effect on the mind of his compatriots. At that period he was proclaimed the restorer of art, and while placing his name at the head of the history of painting, he has been almost considered as the creator of this new art.

However Cimabue, while attempting to give his Madonna less conventional features, and a physiognomy less Byzantine, did but follow in the execution of his painting, the known practices of his age; his painting is not distinguished by any process peculiar to him, from that of his contemporaries, such as Giunta of Pisa and especially Guido of Siena. He was acquainted with no other processes of art than those which his age was acquainted with, which his masters had taught him, that is, the Byzantines; and, under this view, it would not be just to consider him as the restorer of art. But it is under a more important, a more elevated consideration, that the history of modern painting commences in reality with Cimabue. It is because he attempted to shake off the chains of conventionalism; because he discovered another model than the Byzantine, blindly followed hitherto; because, lastly, he gave, by a happy

innovation, the example of returning to nature, so long misunderstood, that Cimabue, the disciple of the Byzantines in every thing connected with the practice of the art, deserves to be considered as the head of the modern school. From this moment it is certain that art, emancipated by degrees from its Gothic trammels, advanced step by step, but always onward in this new path, until it reached the highest degree of perfection, which it attained to in Raphael; and he who has seen the Madonna of Cimabue in the Academy of Arts at Florence, and the walls of the Vatican, may be assured that he has seen, that he has touched the two extremes of progress.

In unfolding, as I have done, the history of the revival of art in Europe, I can say, that I have traced as faithfully as possible the path which it must have followed formerly in Greece. In the same manner that the Byzantine type, consecrated at once by time and devotion, opposed itself for a long time to the emancipation of art, commenced by Cimabue, brought to perfection by Raphael, the hieratic type, whether it was born in Greece, whether it had been imported from Egypt, reigned in the Greek school, for which it was indebted to its ancient and sacred origin, until that period when were attempted, at a period, and by hands we do not precisely know, the first essays at imitation. Dædalus and his age, hold, therefore, in the history of Greek art, the same place that Cimabue and his school occupy with certainty in the history of modern art. From the time of Dædalus, each step which Grecian art made in the path of imitation, removed it farther from Egyptian influence, as from the time of Cimabue each new production of modern art emancipated it more and more from Byzantine influence. In the same manner as those Italian republics, Florence, Siena, Pisa, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, and Venice, which entered the lists in emulation of one another, and advanced with an almost equal step in this new and brilliant career, ancient Greece had its different states, and probably in the same order, its Giotto, its Fra. Angelico, its Mantegna, and its Perugino. In a word, everything is similar on one side and the other, in the origin, in the direction, and progress of art, until the moment when that art reached its highest point of perfection; and I think that Raphael had very little to make him envied by Apelles himself. But it is here, perhaps, that the likeness ceases, and the difference is, we must say, entirely to the advantage of Greece. Modern

art, scarcely arrived at that height at which we have seen it, sustained itself there for a few moments, then totters, falls, or is lost. How short a period, in fact, does the career of Ghirlandajo and of Perugino embrace, the one the master of Michael Angelo, the other of Raphael; and that of the two pupils in whose tomb the art they had brought to perfection was almost buried! while from Phidias to the author of the Torso, of the Gladiator, of the Apollo, there extends an interval of many centuries, crowded with masterpieces. It is, perhaps, that Greek art, more firmly fixed in its principles, had advanced more slowly; while modern art, given up to too many hands, and too hurried in its progress, was as if exhausted at once by the abundance of its productions, and the rapidity of its progress. However this may be, it is important to notice further, in order to complete the parallel of these two arts, all that they had retained of the ancient system, together with all that they had laid aside of it.

As the Greeks always preserved at the finest periods of the art, certain forms of dress, certain consecrated attitudes, together with the symbols and attributes, which had their meaning determined by the primitive monuments, so the Italians in the colour of the dresses, in the disposition of the draperies, in the choice of the accessories, remained constantly faithful to the traditions of the revival of art. Even in that ideal type created by ancient genius there was something present in the majesty of the whole, in the repose of the parts, in the simplicity of the lines, in the calm of the expression, which recalled some features of the sacred model; in the same manner as in that other ideal type created by modern genius, there is to be found a mixture of candour and nobleness, of elevation and simplicity, a sort of ancient physiognomy and religious colour which indicate its sacred origin.

Shall any one now say that Grecian art was indebted for its development to the influence of Egyptian art, because the one remained for a time fixed at that point to which the other remained eternally enchained? Then we must also say, that the art of the moderns was indebted to a Byzantine type for its first forms and its progressive direction; for on both sides as the condition is similar, the consequence ought to be the same; and if the Jupiter of Phidias was derived from an Egyptian statue, we must also allow that a Virgin of Raphael was hidden in a Madonna of St. Luke. Let us say rather, laying aside

those farfetched inferences, that the ancients and the moderns found in a certain religious type, imperfect, like every work of the infancy of art, for a long time respected like every object of worship, a first germ of imitation, and that this germ fertilised by genius, by popular belief, by fortunate circumstances, by free institutions, produced at last, under the beautiful sky of Greece and Italy, those admirable fruits which are so well known. Thus, to recapitulate: in Egypt, under the ardour of a glowing sky, under the sway of a severe theocracy, where every intellectual or physical movement was almost forbidden, where, one may say, that repose was enjoined on the citizens by the climate and by the laws—where unchangeableness was, so to speak, one of the conditions of existence, the arts, eternally stationary, were the expression and the image still more than the ornament of society; in the same manner, in the imperfect civilisation of the middle ages, under the iron yoke of feudal institutions, the arts remained for a long time rude like the minds, and enslaved like individuals. On the contrary, in Greece and in Italy, a mild climate, a fertile soil, a brilliant sky, all which adds a charm to and adorns life; genius, religion, liberty, all which animates, enlightens, elevates man in his own eyes; obtained for the arts, under like conditions, similar destinies, and produced on every side, in this brilliant development of the arts, the most remarkable phenomenon, perhaps, in every respect, which the history of the human mind presents.

SECOND LECTURE.

A few words on the Art of the Phœnicians, and of the Persians—Art in Egypt ; its constant principle was to be uniform and stationary—Three principal reasons for this state of things : First, Physical Conformation, and the distinction of Castes ; second, the nature of the Government connected with Religion ; third, the condition of the Artists—Epochs of Egyptian Art—Primitive style—Digression on the causes which produced in the age of the Antonines this imitative style—Characteristics of the Ancient Egyptian style.

IF I had undertaken to draw up here a complete history of art among the ancients, I ought to have commenced by saying a few words on the art of the people in the East, as the Phœnicians and the Medes, whose civilisation, contemporaneous with that of Egypt, and at all events, anterior to that of Etruria and Greece, necessarily preceded those schools in the career of the arts. But by restricting myself, as it is my intention to do here, to give general and positive notions on the ancient arts, monuments of which remain, by the assistance of which we can appreciate with certainty what were the characteristics and the genius of those arts, I exclude from this discussion the Phœnicians and the Persians, for reasons which I ought to lay before you. The Phœnicians, great navigators, skilful in every kind of commerce and traffic, were certainly acquainted with and practised the arts of imitation ; they were celebrated among all antiquity for the art of melting metals, and colouring stuffs, and for working precious stones. It was from this nation that Solomon obtained the workmen, whom he employed in the construction and decoration of the temple of Jerusalem. It is sufficient to remark, that we possess, with regard to their skill in workmanship, as well as with regard to the famous temple of Jerusalem, only historic testimonies quite inadequate to give us a clear and precise idea of one or the other. Where monuments are totally wanting, there are no possible means of supplying their place by phrases. Much knowledge, taste, and talent may be shown in restoring, with the pencil or with the pen, edifices, statues, paintings, which have been destroyed ; but there is always in these restorations one rather great

inconvenience, that in reality they have restored nothing. The least fragment escaped from the ruins of antiquity, teaches us more on that point than all the books ; and a single finger of a statue, especially if it is of the size of those colossal fragments preserved at Rome in the yard of the Capitol, and on the stairs of the Palazzo Altieri, would be of greater assistance in recomposing the entire statue, and consequently the art of an entire people, which without this the most learned treatises in the world could not have done. But to return to the Phœnicians, it will be sufficient, I repeat, to remark that we do not possess any original monument of this people, to authorise me to dwell on their talents with regard to the arts. It is, indeed, a rather vexatious assumption against this people, and, in general, against every merchant people, this total absence of monuments. Did all their knowledge consist in doing only what they could sell, and had they sold all that they knew how to do ? This is what one is tempted to ask, on considering that we possess no object of art which proceeds directly from this people, who had become the brokers and commissioners of all the others.

We are less destitute of information with regard to the art of the Persians ; they have left us, in the first place, tombs, a kind of monuments which among all ancient nations have endured beyond all others ; magnificent remains of temples, of palaces adorned with sculpture ; lastly, a great number of engraved stones which served as amulets, or talismans, or, at least, as sacred symbols. But whatever ideas may be entertained with regard to the merit and destination of these monuments, especially of those I have just mentioned, it seems to me impossible and premature to comprehend them within the history of the art of any people to which they belong. It is not known with certainty from what hands, whether national or foreign, those monuments proceeded, nor is it known to what period more or less ancient, their execution ought to be referred. The monuments of Persepolis, the only ones which, in consequence of their extent, might serve as the groundwork of any kind of appreciation of Persian art, have been hitherto seen by so few travellers, drawn with such little precision and authority, that it seems to me impossible to found anything solid on such uncertain groundwork ; what seems to be proved, or what is at least probable, with regard to the style, is that there prevails a mixture of Egyptian and of Greek ; and as to the chronology, that the execution of them is posterior to the expedition of

Darius and Xerxes: consequently, that they may have been executed by Greek workmen, which these princes carried off in numbers from their country, to indemnify them for their not having been able to enslave it. The influence of the Greeks is also to be observed in the tombs cut in the rock near the ancient Telmissus. They are the orders and the principles of Greek architecture which prevail in these funereal monuments; and it can be easily perceived, that here, as everywhere else, Greek art has vanquished its masters, and that genius has triumphed over force. With regard to the engraved stones, of which we possess an ample collection, I shall merely observe, that these monuments, very restricted in their mode of representation, very uniform in their taste, style, and character, and completely destitute of certain signs by which their originality or antiquity can be recognised—these monuments, I repeat, cannot furnish a solid groundwork for an appreciation of the same nature with that which occupies us. It requires a series of different monuments from period to period to constitute a school of art; it requires a succession of time and of artists to constitute its history: now this double condition is evidently not to be found in antiquity, such as time has made it for us, but among the Egyptians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks. It is therefore, among those nations, and in the order in which I have mentioned them, that we must consider art and its history, commencing with the Egyptians.

In the first place I take for granted, with Winckelmann, whose theory, although it precedes by half a century the study and knowledge of monuments, has been confirmed by them on almost every point—I take for granted, I say, that the art of design, among the Egyptians, never departed from its first principles, never, so to speak, left its cradle, but that it always remained like unto itself, uniform, unchangeable, until the period when the ancient government of that country was abolished; or at least that it never deviated in the slightest degree from its primitive system until this period. This is what the almost countless number of Egyptian figures proves almost to a certainty, whether represented with the human form, or with heads of symbolical animals—which figures, executed with more or less skill of handicraft, do not the less resemble those first essays of sculpture, such as have been produced among the Etruscans and the Greeks, and, like the latter, destitute not only of all idea of beauty, but also of all

intention of imitation ; this is what I purpose to unfold here. Three principal causes for this stationary state of the arts in Egypt may be assigned ; a physical conformation but little favourable to art, and uniform in its nature among all the individuals of the same caste ; the nature of the government identified with religion ; the conditions of the artists. As to the first point, it is not doubtful that at this primitive period, when the artists, I shall not say *created*, but *received*, in some way, the type of these idols, but that they sought to copy what they had before their eyes, what they saw in nature ; this is what the instinct alone of man would lead one to believe, independently of historical testimony.

Children are seen in every country attempting to imitate, though imperfectly, what they see around them : and it is well known that savage nations, which are to mankind what children are to civil society, cannot conceive any other images of form, of colour, and of beauty, than those which are familiar to them. If the devil is black for white children, it is white for negroes ; and it has been said with justice, that the Venus of the Hottentots would be a monster in Europe, as the Venus de' Medici would be a monster in Africa. The Egyptians, therefore, could not differ on that point from other men. Now, what idea of beauty could be conceived by artists, who had no other objects presented to their view than those in which the African conformation prevailed—the thick lips, the sloping and depressed profile, the retreating and small chin, the prominent cheek-bones, the eyes on a level with the brow, the nose flattened, the complexion dark, the last feature attested by an expression which has become proverbial in antiquity ? It results from the anatomical observations lately made on the skulls of mummies, that their conformation varied in Egypt, by reason of the different castes into which this nation was divided. Thus it is proved that the skulls of the mummies of the most common order, belong to quite a different race to those of the mummies expensively prepared. A conclusion was necessarily drawn from this fact, that the primitive population of Egypt was of two kinds ; the people or the subject and enslaved part, originally from Ethiopia, and the caste of kings and priests, or the conquering or ruling caste, of Asiatic race, and probably of Indian extraction. The extreme narrowness of the figure above the hips, which is remarked in the greater number of statues of Egyptian women, has also been

justly considered as a feature of Indian conformation, which is in fact to be found at the present day among the Bayaderes. Lastly, all the testimonies of ancient and modern travellers agree on this point, that the configuration of the Egyptians was infinitely less beautiful and less favourable to art than that of the Greeks. Add to this that the absolute rigour with which the separation of the castes in ancient Egypt was maintained, must have powerfully contributed to perpetuate that peculiar conformation, the type of the nation; and consequently to render art uniform, like its model. If, among our modern nations, where the increase of races is neither forbidden by the laws nor by customs, there is nevertheless to be remarked a sort of common physiognomy, of type, in some manner, national and domestic in families which are ever forming alliances among themselves and among nations who spread but little beyond their own country, what must it then have been in ancient Egypt, where the population was divided into two grand classes, which could never be connected one with the other, and these subdivided into several particular castes, in which each profession, hereditary in each family, invariably maintained, with the original type of the race, the impress and the physiognomy of the trade? We must therefore infer, what is corroborated by the observation of monuments, that art, already deprived in Egypt of a favourable model, did not even possess the resource of variety in the numerous individuals of this model. From the manner in which religion and policy had shaped man in Egypt, all individuals of a same family, all members of a same caste, must have so resembled one another, that almost all individuality had disappeared among them. The peculiar physiognomy of each of them was as if erased beneath the universal impress; the man of nature, the man of Egypt, must have disappeared under this kind of artificial man, created by institutions, so that we may say that in all Egypt, there was but one, or at most *two Egyptians*, multiplied a certain number of times; in the same manner, we may say, with the greatest strictness, that all Egyptian statues can be reduced to one indefinitely repeated.

This observation is further corroborated by the Egyptian monuments which represent animals. There can be remarked, in fact, a freedom of workmanship, a choice and a variety of forms, a truthfulness, and even what deserves to be called imitation, which contrast with the uniformity, the rigidity, the

absence of nature and of life, which human figures present. The reasons, independently of religious and political reasons, which probably rendered the representation of an animal, whatever it may be, less important, as it is in fact less difficult than that of a man, were, that the different races of animals, wild or domestic, could not be classed like the different castes of men, masters, or subjects; that thus the artist, being always able to study his model in freedom, could also give to its image greater variety of motion, and by imitating animals in nature, indemnify himself from the constraint he experienced when he represented kings and priests. With regard to the second reason of the little progress which art made in Egypt, derived from the nature of the government, it will be sufficient to cite the famous law mentioned by Plato, and so often quoted from that writer; a law which forbade the artists to depart in the slightest degree, in the execution of images, from the type consecrated by public authority. And in fact, Plato adds, that all works of art executed in his time, that is, at the period of the domination of the Persians in Egypt, were absolutely similar to those which had been produced thousands of years before. Hence this uniformity, in reality prodigious, between productions which are separated by a long series of ages, and which differ but little, with the exception of the emblems of the symbols or attributes varied for each divinity, in proportion, workmanship, and material. The impression which one cannot prevent one's-self from receiving, on beholding so many figures exactly identical, is how, in a work which is not entirely mechanical, the hand of man could reproduce so often the same image, with similar care, and with equal fidelity; how art, cultivated by so many different individuals in so long a space of time, could have remained at that uniform point, that a thousand statues make but one—that fifteen centuries seem but a day; lastly how this art, which we cannot conceive otherwise than free and varied, as nature, could be reduced to the precision and regularity of a machine. And let no one say that religion and the government could have made the law, of which Plato speaks, imperative on the authors of the figures of the gods, but not on all the others; in the first place, because Plato does not make this distinction, and speaks of every kind of figures without exception: in the second place, because the faculty of representing figures under the human form seems to have been confined among the

Egyptians to the gods, to the kings, and priests, three orders of persons, which in reality made but one, for the gods were considered as so many kings of the nation, and the kings themselves were but priests; at least there is nothing to my knowledge, among ancient traditions, which would induce us to believe that statues were erected to any other than a god, a king, or a priest; and in that crowd of works of Egyptian art which we possess at present, and on which are inscriptions which inform us of their subject, not one has been hitherto discovered which could not be classed in this triple category, or which presents a genuine individual representation of a personage out of the privileged caste.

The art being thus enlisted in the exclusive service of religion and the government, two things which in reality made but one, art being at once a privilege and a trade, a manufacture of sacred objects reduced to a mechanical operation, how could this art have been raised to that degree of perfection which exacts all that freedom of hand, all that independence of thought, which can never be attained but by a concurrence of emulation and exertion? Do we not indeed know, by our own experience, that in those statues offered to public veneration, the more rude the work is, the more it is stamped with the seal of antiquity, the more it inspires respect, the more readily it receives homage; consequently, the more important it is that all objects which are connected with its worship should be impressed with the same character, in order that it should participate in the same veneration? In Greece itself, during the most flourishing period of the art, the Cupid of Thespiaë, the masterpiece of Praxiteles, never obtained as much respect as the rude stone which was supposed to have fallen from heaven; modern Italy presents at each step facts corroborative of this. The painting which in each church attracts the greater crowds, the homage and the gifts of the faithful, is not that in which is conspicuous in the highest degree all the charms of art, or whose author is mentioned in its annals; it is the painting the most Gothic, the most darkened with smoke, the most strongly impressed with that Byzantine type which is to modern art what the Egyptian type was to the art of the Greeks; above all, the image the most richly decorated, the most covered with jewels, necklaces, diadems, in a word, a Madonna of the pretended St. Luke, and not a Virgin of Raphael. It seems that those ancient images

are raised and become ennobled in the belief of the people, in consequence of the centuries which have passed over them, and the rust of ages which has been imprinted on them. They receive from time a sort of consecration, which the hand of man, however skilful it may be, could never give. The less art is visible in it the greater is the disposition to believe in it; and it seems, in a word, that the less the artist appears so much the more is the divinity manifested in it. Hence the necessity of changing nothing, of making no innovation in everything which is connected with the worship of these privileged images; it is in these matters that it is of special importance to perpetuate the idol, in order to preserve the faith. If it were permitted to mingle the sacred and the profane, or to compare small things with great, I would say that the idol in blackened wood which is venerated at Loretto, must bear a great resemblance to the ancient idol of Diana of the Ephesians. The maxim of the Egyptians not to admit nor to tolerate any deviation from the consecrated type, any infraction of the established principles, was therefore conformable to the nature, to the very necessity of things, in a theocratic government, where everything was founded on the veneration bestowed on divine objects, and on men who assumed themselves to be so, when the slightest alteration of the sign might lead to that of the dogma, and the contempt of the idol bring about the downfall of the system. In every society modelled by religion and governed by its ministers, it follows as a necessary consequence that everything should remain in the manner in which everything has been regulated; there, where everything proceeds in small things as in great, by virtue of a revelation, it is evident that the slightest innovation was an excessive audacity, since it tended to substitute the action of man for the will of a god. Any change in the object of worship supposes an almost inevitable one in belief, and consequently in the constitution; and for myself I am convinced that a man capable of making in Egypt a Greek statue, would have been capable of causing there, by that alone, a political revolution. The third reason which I have pointed out of this stationary state of art in Egypt, is in the very condition of the artists, that is to say, in the law which included all industrial professions, comprising those which are connected with the fine arts, in the third and last class of the people. By this classification, and in consequence of the

necessity which compelled each individual to exercise the trade of his father, *without being ever able to change or ameliorate his primitive condition*; the artist, *reduced to the subaltern character of an artisan*, deprived of two powerful incentives, which raise everywhere else trade to the dignity of art, and man above himself, interest and emulation could not produce, and in reality produced nothing but works impressed with the stamp of that uniformity which is the sole perfection of a machine. Thus, there took place in Egypt what still takes place at the present day, wherever the rule of castes is established. What we see in India, and in China, where paintings and sculpture, executed many centuries ago, seem to have come from the same hand, or, rather, from the same manufacture, as those which are executed at the present day. There is in those countries but one model, a sort of traditional pattern, which is ever repeated, is rarely improved, and never altered. Man, reduced to the condition of a machine, does in each profession what his father did before him, and does so in the same manner. Generations succeed one another, centuries follow; but principles are perpetuated, and works bear a resemblance to one another; and how could it be otherwise where religion has prescribed a type and where man, compelled to hand it down, cannot depart from his model without impiety, nor leave his profession without rebellion? Lastly, let us add a final consideration: Egyptian artists were deprived of a study the most essential to drawing, I mean the knowledge of the structure of the human body, for anatomy was prohibited in Egypt, in consequence of that religious respect for the dead body which not only prevented them from allowing its dissection, but also arranged that after the single incision made in the side of a corpse to extract the intestines and perform the embalmment, the paraschistos, or man intrusted by the state with that operation at once necessary and sacrilegious, immediately took to flight in order to save his life from the resentment of the parents of the deceased, who pursued him with stones.

After having thus given, as concisely as it is now possible for me to do, the reasons why the arts of design could not raise themselves to that degree of perfection among the Egyptians to which it is not doubtful that they might have attained, as the result of the cultivation of so many centuries in a patient and industrious nation, it remains for

me to state precisely the state in which these arts maintained themselves, and remained fixed in consequence of all the causes pointed out above. But in the first place, we must distinguish in the history of Egyptian art, however uniform, however stationary it was in its general character; we must, I repeat, distinguish at least three periods: the first was that of the ancient government of the country, during which the primitive style was maintained in all its purity as well as the national worship and government; the second, which dates from the dominion of the Greeks in Egypt, and during which this type experienced some important modifications; lastly, the third, which does not properly belong to the Egyptian style, no more than Egypt, during all this period belonged to itself. I would speak of that mania which was introduced at Rome at the time of the emperors, and principally under Adrian, for imitating Egyptian figures, and in general for returning to foreign and antiquated types; a mania which is ever found in all those periods of civilisation in which exhaustion and satiety force the human mind to cast itself into the paths of innovation, which are not those of invention, although these two things seem to have been confounded in consequence of the resemblance of these two words: a period in which there is no other resource for making something new, than by remaking from what is ancient, and in which the bad which appears new is preferred to the beautiful which has grown old. Such was in many respects the age of the Antonines. The interest which this curious period of history presents, were it only for the relation it bears to the present day, which is placed in almost similar circumstances, deserves that we should pause for a few moments to consider it under the principal point of view which occupies us.

At the period I have mentioned, all the dogmas of polytheism, doubly attacked by the deterioration of morals and by the progress of knowledge, undermined at the same time by indifference and philosophy, were sustained only by ancient custom. The worship still existed, but the belief was dead, and art, in consequence of the same causes, had undergone the same revolutions. All the types of the beautiful had been fixed; perfection had been manifested under every form; nothing remained but to reproduce what had been done before, or to produce what was bad by taking another course, and thenceforward art must have been exhausted in repeating itself, or have gone astray by casting itself into new paths: and this

was what took place. Again, with the decline of faith, art had lost its great resource, and its principal element of success; genius itself had need believe in the gods it created; and from the moment that the artist handled nothing but marble and bronze, he ceased to produce masterpieces. When the Romans began to spoil the temples of Greece to adorn their porticos, their palaces, their country-houses; when a simple prætor like Verres could form a gallery of statues and of paintings by devastating all the sanctuaries of Sicily; when, in a word, they triumphed over the objects of worship and the monuments of art, as well as over a conquered province; and the statues of the gods were dragged in slavery to Rome, like vanquished kings, the fall of religion must have been foreseen, and consequently also that of art. It is a vexatious truth to mention, yet useful to proclaim, that for works of art produced for religion and consecrated by it, there is but one and the same destiny; they are associated with its worship, they participate in its sway, they are raised, prosper, and fall together. Paintings composed for an altar lose in passing from a church into a museum of art all their merit, at least all their influence, all their traditional glory; when once they have ceased to nourish faith they cease to be a stimulus to genius, and the age of museums generally comes after that of masterpieces. It is the destination of a work of art, it is the place it ought to occupy, it is the order of ideas, of feelings, of opinions, in which it is called to take its place, which makes a part of its merit, of its success, and to a certain degree, of the talent of the author. Modern Italy knew not, almost until this present day, what were galleries and exhibitions of paintings. Each church was a kind of museum, but a museum where each object was in its place, where each statue corresponded with an intention; where each painting, placed in its true point of view, under the magic influence of the place for which it had been painted, of the light which was to be thrown on it, of the religion which had consecrated it, produced a sure, profound, and durable effect; and to say all in one word, all Italy was a vast museum, precisely because it had no museums.

At the present day, when, through want of statues and paintings, collections are being formed where many both of one and the other have been brought together, I shall not venture to say what will be the result. Not to fall out with my own age, I shall adduce the example of the Romans, who formed

galleries and museums with the productions of Greek artists, but who never gave successors to those artists. They were admired, they were copied, but they were no longer reproduced. It was an age in which, through satiety for what was good, and through incapability for what was better, something new should be had at any price, and what was worst was alone produced. At this period, foreign or new religions were taking possession of a society now grown old, and were endeavouring to make their way on every side amid an exhausted civilisation. The Persian and Egyptian religions, without speaking of another religion which was then preparing in the shade a slow but sure sway, were usurping everywhere the Roman world. The Persian Mithras, the Egyptian Isis, the Alexandrian Serapis, were disputing with the gods of Athens or of the Capitol a belief, already weakened in every breast, already worn out in every place, and which could not be attempted to be renewed but by providing it with new objects. Then there took place, like an overflow of the Nile over the entire face of the known world, those ancient idols of Egypt which had the charm of novelty, because they were ancient, and which were reproduced under every form, in every possible manner. For the same reason, the ancient sanctuaries of Greece were ransacked, to take from them the most antiquated images. Conceived in a primitive style, an attempt was made to lead back art and religion to their ancient sources, but these sources were dry. This kind of patching up of the old polytheism, these powerless efforts to produce some novelty from what was worn out; this growing young again of ancient art, like the old Æson, experienced in fact the same fate; art perished in the hands of those who wished to renew it; and with the exception of some repetitions, conceived in a rational system, executed with talent, of several Greek statues, there has remained nothing of the age of the Antonines but Egyptian monuments, which are not properly Egyptian, but imitations of the antique, which are not really antiques; in a word, subjects very similar to what would be called *postiches*, among us at the present day, if, instead of deriving the greatest advantage from the excellent models we possess, we should apply ourselves to resume the art at the point it was at in the fifteenth century, and to begin again the school of Albert Durer and Perugino, without considering that these great men followed at that period the path traced out before them, and proceeded step by step, always advancing, while we,

in order to join them, should be obliged to return again, and go backwards to them all the distance which separates us from them. I return to the periods of the history of art among the Egyptians, and after having established in general three of these periods, I add that we must further distinguish, in the Egyptian style, what is peculiar to that style, from what is but accessory or accidental. Now the general properties of the art, or what comes to the same, the knowledge the artists had of design, consisted in giving the outlines of the figures by straight lines, or the least possibly removed from straight. Hence, the total absence of muscles, veins, folds or contractions of the skin, in connection with the motion or the attitude of these figures, and at the same time the imposing and monumental character which must be recognised in them, and which depends precisely upon that absence of details which in works of art, where these details are multiplied, and are of a vulgar form, constitute what has been called a poor and common nature. Two things, then, must have resulted from this system of Egyptian art—a great uniformity in the manner of conceiving and treating the statues of any divinity, for the artist always proceeded, on whatever figure it may be, by simple lines, by grand masses, without ever allowing himself those intricate lines, infinitely broken up, which correspond with all the variety of human nature; in the second place, that images thus executed, devoid as they were of the charm of imitation, but also free from the inconveniences of a false or mean imitation, presented this grave, religious, solemn characteristic, which was, what we ought never to lose sight of, the first condition, the first necessity of the Egyptian religion.

This character is, in fact, so deeply impressed on the productions of this art, and is to be found there so independent, at the same time, of their perfection in workmanship, and of their imperfection in imitation, that it strikes us, at a distance of so many centuries, and suggests a different mode of beholding them. I add, that the Greeks were probably struck with it in the same way at the period when the genius of imitation which began to develop itself among them, was received into the Egyptian school. All that was simple and grand in the monuments of this people; that simplicity of lines, that absence of motion, that want of details—in a word, that imposing grandeur—which makes the smallest Egyptian figure convey the idea of something colossal, precisely because it possesses nothing human,

must have acted strongly on the imagination of a people like the Greeks. Perhaps we should not be in the wrong in saying that we find in this impression produced by Egypt, the germ of that ideal grandeur which was the character of Greek art, and the combination of which with imitative truth constitutes all the secret, all the wonder of this divine art. If this conjecture is allowed, which there are neither facts nor monuments to impugn; if it is acknowledged that the Greeks learned from the Egyptians to produce grandeur by the simplicity of lines and elevation of style, by absence of details, I think the influence exercised by Egypt in Greece will be reduced to its just estimate, and that in terms the most honourable for the character of the two nations, and the most conformable to their genius. Let us now enter into a few details, and let us apply those general considerations to the monuments of Egyptian art.

All the statues we possess of the Egyptians, in whatever material, and of whatever dimension they may be, are erect, or seated, or on their knees, and all, in whatever position they are found, with their back to a pillar, or at least so rarely detached from some support, that this exception confirms rather than weakens the general rule. With regard to the erect figures, whether they represent a man or a woman, they have their arms hanging down close to their sides, or crossed symmetrically on their breasts. Sometimes one of the arms is detached from its vertical position, and brought forwards, while the other remains, stretched down the length of the body; but whatever position they occupy, they are always immoveably fixed, and as if nailed in that position. One cannot but consider that they bear a stronger resemblance to a block than to a human figure. Both arms are rarely brought forward, and in this case, they are but little removed from a parallel line. The feet are almost always parallel, but not on the same plane; one is always placed before the other, and as the one behind, being thrown farther back, would appear somewhat shorter, for this reason it is generally a little longer—a sort of compensation which seems to have been also practised by the Greeks: at least there is an example of it in the feet of the Apollo Belvedere. As to the seated figures, they have uniformly their feet on the same line, and their hands placed parallel on their knees. Figures on their knees have generally a kind of chest before them, figured like a sanctuary, and inclosing some idols. Both one and the other are, moreover, devoid of all kind of

motion. Erect figures walk no more than those which are seated, or on their knees; nothing moves in them, nothing presents the image or appearance of action or of life. They are in being without existing, or if they do exist, it is by their immobility alone. They rest, they weigh on the earth: they neither breathe nor live. With regard to their costume, the statues of women are always dressed, but generally with a very slight vesture, which forms no fold, and fits so close to the figure, that frequently one cannot distinguish the drapery from the body which it enfolds from the head to the feet, did one not remark exactly at the neck and at the legs a little rim, which indicates each extremity of the drapery; this garment fits close on the bosom, although this part is generally very prominent; and as it was conformable to the nature of things that the drapery should form more folds in this place than in any other, the artists contented themselves, in place of an indication of folds, which would have been a beginning of truth—that is to say, a beginning of alteration—with tracing on the bosom itself a circle with rings. This was on their part a manifest sign that they knew how to observe nature, and at the same time a tacit avowal, that without the trammels which had been imposed on them, they could have acquired the talent to represent it, since they were not deprived of the power of seeing it. What I have just said explains, moreover, and justifies the contempt shown by Herodotus on the subject of the twenty colossal statues in wood which he saw at Sais, and which represented so many women. The veracious historian says that they were naked, which was not the case; but they were dressed in the manner I have mentioned, that is to say, with the drapery so exactly fitted to the limbs, that it formed a texture almost incorporate with the figure itself. I have nothing to say with regard to the statues of men, except that they are naked, with the exception of a kind of apron falling from the hips to the knees. Lastly, when we speak of nudity, what has been already said must be called to mind, that there is never in Egyptian statues the least detail of muscular development, and consequently no real nudity. The nude with them is never anything more than the outward fold of the human body, rather than the body itself. Every Egyptian statue is, in fact, in its scabbard, in its sheath, like a mummy under the folds of the linen which enwrap it, and in the case which enclosed it.

THIRD LECTURE.

Continuation of the same subject—Objection derived from the Figures of Animals—Answer to this objection—Style of the second and third periods of Egyptian Art—Application of these general considerations to the Egyptian Figures with the Heads of Animals—What was the true nature of these Figures—Why the body was always neglected in them—Why they are generally attached to a pilaster—Figures with human head—Style of these Figures equally devoid of imitation—Sacred type borrowed from Mummies—Proofs and development of this idea—Conclusion—Parallel of an Egyptian, and of an analogous group treated by modern artists.

I THINK I have proved that Egyptian artists of the first period were unacquainted with anatomy; that they had neither the power nor the permission to represent the *nude*; to vary the costume, to express motion and life. Now if they were thus limited in the science of drawing, and in the practice of the art, how could they have been acquainted with beauty and expression, these two essential properties of art, without which we cannot conceive it? Grace, that other property of art, which is, so to speak, its soul and essence, was thus as completely unknown to them as were unknown to the Egyptians themselves, according to the testimony of Herodotus, the three goddesses who bear this name in the smiling mythology of Greece. It is in the same sense we must understand the testimony of Strabo, who remarked, with regard to the edifices of Egypt, that their edifices presented nothing *graceful* or *picturesque*, which is strictly exact, but which has been generally so ill understood, that the most learned interpreter of Strabo renders these words of his author by the words, "Nothing painted," which expresses exactly the contrary of the truth. Every one knows at the present day that everything is painted in ancient Egypt, temples as well as statues; and this presents us with another opportunity for remarking, how much the inspection alone of monuments serves to rectify false ideas, and to correct ill understood facts. I must take notice here of an objection which I have already indicated, and which must be allowed to have some weight. There may be opposed to the general manner in which I have considered Egyptian art, the

anatomical science, the skilful expression of the muscles and of the bones, added to much delicacy and truth of details, which those same artists have displayed, in a great number of figures of animals, especially in the two lions at Rome, at the foot of the Capitol, in those of the fountains of the Aqua Felice, in the Sphinx of the Villa Borghese, and in a number of other figures of animals which adorn the Egyptian museums of London, Turin, and Paris. But far from seeking to weaken this objection by observations which might, moreover, be destitute of foundation, on the later age of these figures of animals, it seems to me that the very contrast which is to be remarked between human statues, devoid of all anatomical science, of all detail of imitation, and those figures of animals where this double quality is sometimes to be found, carried to a rather high degree, serve rather to more fully prove the solidity of the principles I have established on the nature of Egyptian art: that this art, in all that concerns human representation, was subservient to fixed laws, which it was not permitted to infringe, to consecrated types which it was never possible for it to modify, and further, that it was forbidden to pursue any anatomical studies, while, on the other hand, on the figures of animals which were but of secondary importance, they could freely study their model, represented with all the truth of which they were capable; and in consequence of the dissection of animals, which were frequently embalmed like human beings, but from which, indeed, this operation did not entail the same inconveniences on the part of the family of the dead, they could produce in these representations all the anatomical science they had acquired, and which is to be admired in them. It results from thence, by an inevitable consequence, that the Egyptians were not, perhaps, less gifted than the Greeks with an imitative genius, since, where they were allowed to display it, they did so with great success, and that at a time when this genius, repressed among them by a stern theocracy, circumscribed in narrow limits, and reduced to figures of animals, had too confined a field, and too humble a sphere, to exercise itself in a manner worthy of itself: a consequence which certainly suggests some serious philosophical observations in relation to the history of art, and especially in relation to that sway so absolute, so universal, which during so long a series of ages religion could exercise over the human mind, amidst a people otherwise endowed with so many excellent qualities, by

enthralled the productions of its intellect, by fashioning the work of its hands, by bestowing and taking away at one and the same time, liberty, and making man alternately an artist and a machine—in a word, leaving him nothing of his liberty and his intellect, but exactly as much as he would require to make a lion, a dog, or a jackall, without being ever able to use it to make a man like himself. It now remains for me, in order to give a complete idea of Egyptian art, to speak of the style peculiar to the second and third periods of this art, as well as monuments which belong to it. But the little interest which is attached to productions in which the merit of originality is lost without being replaced by any other, does not allow me to extend my remarks further than some observations strictly necessary.

There is no need of a great display of erudition to prove that the Greeks, having become masters of Egypt, must have sought to introduce there, with their elegant and polished manners, the arts, which were the principal ornament of their civilisation. But those arts of Greece, which at a later period vanquished the Romans, the conquerors of the world, found in the conquest of Egypt an almost insurmountable resistance. In that country, a people fashioned by ancient laws, by inveterate habits, were obstinately bent on refusing to admit any foreign impression. Besides, in that country the Ptolemies, founders of this new empire, were not doubtless sorry to find a nation so docile under the yoke, so resigned to obedience, for whom it was nothing to change their masters, but with whom it would have been perhaps dangerous to change their mode of existence. To emancipate the Egyptians in any manner whatever in the practice of an art so closely connected with religion and policy; to compel them, for example, to make statues otherwise than they always did, would be almost to hazard the risk of making men of the Egyptians themselves. Art emancipated might become a step towards liberty; artists who would cease to work like machines might eventually become citizens, and doubtless it was better suited to the policy of the Ptolemies that they should remain slaves, as in the past. In this, indeed, the sovereign seemed to conform to the established customs and laws; it was in some way an homage which power paid to public opinion, in leaving all things in the same state; that is to say, the mind enthralled, and the hand fettered, and it is a well-known fact that nations never obey

more willingly than when they are governed by their own prejudices. The Greeks confined themselves, therefore, to a modification of the Egyptian style in some details, without changing anything essential. They adopted, between the total absence of details, which was the characteristic of the national school, and their own peculiar method, a sort of middle term in which however the primitive still predominated. The costume was the portion of the art in which they allowed themselves the most change; the tunic of the females was distinguished not only from the figure, by some folds slightly indicated, but sometimes also, as in the two statues of the Museum of the Capitol, and a third, of the Villa Albani, by a second vest joined under the bosom by two ends of a cloak thrown over the shoulders; a costume, which it is to be remarked, slightly varied on a great number of the Egyptian statues of the second period, and which seems to have been peculiar to the statues of Isis, since it is to be found in the greater number of the statues of that deity of Græco-Roman workmanship, especially on those of the Museum of the Capitol, without omitting the colossal fragment attached to the Palazzo de Venezia, which is vulgarly called by the Roman people, *Dama Lucrezia*. But perhaps it is still less on the more or less important modifications of style and costume which Egyptian art underwent, in passing through the hands of the Greeks, that the characteristics of the second period must be sought for, than in the execution itself, which generally presents, in the productions of that period, less precision, freedom, and firmness. It is evident that in the blending of these two mechanical arts, the Egyptian lost in firmness of hand in proportion as the Greek introduced habits of his own. It is also not the less certain that this style, in assuming to conciliate contradictory qualities, and in endeavouring to modify the unimitative but monumental style of ancient Egypt, by the processes of the art and taste of Greece, only produced a bastard mixture in which originality no longer existed, and in which truth did not exist as yet. Egypt was too averse to every system but its own to submit even to the influence of the Greeks, and although a great number of works, more or less deserving of praise, can be mentioned, produced in Egypt under this influence, it is however true that the Greeks never formed in Egypt a genuine school, and that in all these works, Greek genius lost more of its own than it gained from that of Egypt. I shall have still

less to say with regard to the productions of the third period, or the period of imitation.

I have already pointed out the reasons which, towards the end of the first and in the course of the second century of our era, multiplied, at Rome principally, statues in the Egyptian taste, and it follows necessarily from the principle which gave rise to these imitations, that the Greek or Roman artists who executed them must have approached as much as possible, the Egyptian originals in the choice of subjects, in the employment of material, and especially in the processes of execution. They chose also the materials which Egypt furnished them with, such as green or black basalt, red granite, porphyry, and they carefully made their copies so similar to the Egyptian idols, in disposition, attitudes, attributes, that they could not be distinguished from the originals. But whatever they did, they could not, nor did they know how to completely imitate what was defective in those works; they remained, in spite of themselves, faithful to the Greek genius in working after the Egyptian system, and their talent shone forth even in their very incapability. For any one who is even slightly initiated in the knowledge of drawing, the resemblance which appears extreme between the original and copy, is but apparent, and the knowledge and intelligence of the Greek sculptors can be readily distinguished under this Egyptian shell, if I may so express myself. Among the number of beautiful works which belong to this period, we must place those statues of red granite, of a size larger than nature, which are at Tivoli, before the palace of the bishop, in which Winckelmann has been the first to recognise the resemblance to Antinous, represented as in a number of other statues, with the features of an Egyptian deity. Nothing, in fact, is more suited than the statues of the favourite of Adrian, who died in Egypt, and who obtained there the honours of apotheosis, and whose figure is so well known to us by so many beautiful works, the last efforts of expiring art—nothing is more suited, I repeat, than these statues to make known to us, with the greatest certainty, with the greatest possible precision, the characteristics peculiar to the style of this period of imitation. They are to be found stamped in an equally palpable manner on those numerous statues taken from the ruins of the Villa of Adrian at Tivoli and preserved at Rome, in the Museum of the Capitol. It is well known that Adrian, an

ardent promoter of all these new superstitions, by which he sought perhaps, in the revivification of polytheism, now grown old, to renew his worn-out feelings, had united in his country villa at Tibur, edifices in the Egyptian taste with Greek and Roman edifices. They were all doubtless adorned with statues suited to their character, where the desire to please the emperor, and that instinct of imitation so natural to man, must have increased their general use at that period, in places submitted to this double influence. Hence the great number of Egyptian statues, the greater portion coming from the excavations at the Villa Adrian, in which the modern statuary has preserved nothing but the constrained attitude, the rigidity of figure, and the consecrated attributes; so that one is astonished on beholding these Egyptian statues, executed by a Greek hand, that they remain so immoveable with all the means in their power to move. Hence, also, those numerous fragments of sculpture, principally in basso relievo, executed at the same period and belonging to altars, tripods, especially to bases of candelabra, on which a later hand has imitated the work of Greek sculpture of the first age, doubtless with the intention of reviving the ancient creed, in the presence of its ancient idols; or perhaps merely to vary exhausted art by reproducing antiquated and consequently forgotten types. From these general observations on Egyptian art, it is necessary that we should pass to some particular applications in order to form a just and precise idea of it. Generalities, though they may be founded on numerous and exact data, are always suspicious to any systematic mind; we must therefore enter into details, that we may have the opportunity of verifying by application the fact which has been established in principle. Egyptian figures are divided into two grand classes, those with a human head and those with the head of an animal: this latter is by far the most numerous; for this reason, and also from the very singularity of the fact which it presents, it deserves to be considered the first.

There is no doubt that this monstrous association of a head of an animal with a human body, had a symbolical meaning; that this meaning was, as it seems probable, to represent the different forms of which human nature was capable: to express, for example, strength, penetration, patience, or any other quality, by the heads of a lion or jackal, a raven, or any other animal; or that this representation may have had, in its

principle a different signification, is of little importance to the subject which occupies us. It is sufficient for us to see in this single fact, that Egypt found, in the mixture of the two natures, a certain mode of representing ideas, a decisive proof that it disclaimed, by that very mode, all intention of imitating figures. The principle and the end, indeed, of all imitation, even when imperfect, are to make one believe in the existence of the object of which it presents the image. A human figure ill-shaped by the hand of a child or of a savage, possesses always, in the intention at least of the author of the sketch, the appearance of a human figure. But in presenting to our view a figure of a man surmounted with the head of a crocodile, Egypt certainly never had the intention of making one believe in the reality of such a being; it was therefore an idea that it wished to render sensible rather than a real image which it attempted to present, it was a sign of ideas much more than a semblance of objects: art thus treated, was nothing more than a mode of rendering thought, material, sensible, palpable; in other terms, art was but a mode of writing. It is in fact, to this incontestable result, that the attentive observation of all the monuments of Egyptian art lead, and this result does not the less incontrovertibly follow from all the facts relative to the system of the written language of ancient Egypt. The first mode of communicating thought which was established there, and the only one which remained always sacred there, consisted, as is well known, in expressing every real and physical object by its image abridged, and every moral or abstract idea, by a conventional sign. Combinations, infinitely varied, of human nature with that of animals, were among the number of those signs, which presented at once the most familiar image, the most easy of comprehension, and which lent themselves the most conveniently to philosophical abstractions and to popular applications. Great use was therefore made in written language of these compounded figures. They are to be found in thousands in basso relievo, on the covers of mummies, on funereal papyri, on all the monuments which have come down to us of the sacred or hieroglyphical writing of ancient Egypt; they are represented on them, either with a single head of an animal with a single human body, or with two or four heads together of the same animal, or lastly, with different heads on the same body: and in every case this singleness or multiplicity of the

sign changes indeed its meaning, but does not change its nature. It is always a symbolical image clothed with a visible body—that is to say, an idea represented by a figure: such, then, was without doubt, the nature of these figures; they belonged originally to a system of writing, and not to a system of imitation; they were the elements of a written language, and not of an art properly so-called; they were ideas, words, letters, and not statues. When at a later period, these signs were separated from the writing of which they formed a part, when they were isolated from every other sign, when they were cut in stone, in wood, cast in bronze, or modelled in clay, in order to form real statues, they did not, therefore, lose their symbolical nature, nor their ideographic meaning. The mixture of the two natures was still there, to make the image of the idea predominate in the representation of the sign, to inform the beholder that he saw before him a written thought and not a physical being, to exhibit in this human body supporting a head of an animal, the personification of a moral idea, and not the image of a real being.

Egyptian statues, in whatever material, and in whatever proportion they were executed, remained what they had been in the beginning, elements of the written language: they were, if I may so express myself, the capital letters of this language, which rendered the idea more sensible in proportion as the representation of it was more imposing. The impression of this idea, its effect on the imagination of the people, was thus increased in their eyes in proportion to the height of the colossus and the value of the material. It was, if I may use this comparison, borrowed from another order of things; it was the same with those Egyptian statues of gigantic stature, adorned with paintings as with the capital letters, painted and gilt, on our gothic manuscripts; these letters do not change their meaning, but are more conspicuous, and stand out more; in the same manner Egyptian statues, insulated signs of abstract ideas, struck the imagination more forcibly the more boldly they were sculptured, the more richly they were decorated; but once again I repeat, those Egyptian statues thus detached, no more than the similar figures which formed a portion of writing, were nothing more than ideas: imitation was foreign to them, and art, consequently, was useless and indifferent to them. If other proofs were required in support of this mode of considering Egyptian idols of a double nature,

they will be found in the important observation, and one easy to verify, that in all these figures, of whatever order they may be, the body is always the neglected part. This observation has been confirmed by a man whom no one will suspect of looking on the productions of Egyptian art with any unfavourable prepossession, by M. Champollion the younger; and the causes which he has pointed out of this kind of inequality between the head of the animal which was the essential and determinative portion of the sign and the body of the statue, which was but the accessory and subordinate part. These causes are too closely connected with the principles I have established, to prevent me from finding in them a confirmation of my own ideas. It evidently results from this fact, that in sculpturing human bodies surmounted with the head of an animal, the Egyptians were bent exclusively on representing, in a strong and true manner, the part of the sign which characterised the idea they wished to express, or the deity they wished to honour—that is to say, the head of the animal—and neglected entirely the toes, the arms, the legs, the hands, and the feet of the man, parts which, in whatever manner they were executed, changed nothing with regard to the meaning of the sign: it results, I repeat, evidently from this fact, that the art of sculpture was not among the Egyptians an art of imitation. In the system of Egypt a compound figure as we have seen, being nothing more than a simple or complex idea, where the head was the idea itself, and the body a simple accessory, the latter thus served only as a support, and to speak properly, as a pedestal to the represented image: and for that purpose what need was there of details of imitation, delicacy of execution, of anatomical science, of drawing, of art, in a word?

Further, an Egyptian statue being nothing more than an idea, which had its intrinsic and independent meaning, but which, at the same time, possessed a relative meaning, and one connected with other ideas, such a statue could not be completely isolated from every other sign. As it had originally formed a part of a system of writing, where its signification was modified by other signs, it could not be entirely detached from this system. Hence the custom was established when figures were isolated, to attach them to something, as if to retain some portion of their former use. It is a very remarkable fact, and one for which no satisfactory reason has been as yet assigned, that the greater number of Egyptian statues are

supported against a pilaster: the few exceptions which may be noticed are of a later period, as Winckelmann has justly remarked, or of no value even on account of their rarity. Now what could have been the intention of the Egyptians, for certainly they had one, in thus attaching to a pilaster erect and seated statues, and those on their knees?—assuredly they present in themselves sufficiently the conditions, and the appearance of solidity and strength, not to have any need of this foreign support. Can any one say that these figures, having originally been used for the interior decoration of edifices, preserved when isolated statues were executed, the support which indicated this architectural position? But this explanation, so little philosophical in itself, is, however, contradicted by facts. It is probable that figures for writing were made in Egypt before statues were made for architecture, and if these figures borrowed the pilaster to which they were attached, only for the use, comparatively recent, it was put to, to adorn edifices, would they have preserved it in those innumerable figures of small proportion, of the commonest as well as the most precious materials, which were used, as jewels, amulets, and talismans? Everything proves that the statues bore with them into the temples the pilaster to which they were attached, and which they did not find there; and a positive proof of this is, that in the very temples where such figures are to be met with, they preserve their peculiar support, independently of the pilaster, of the wall and of the column before which they are placed. Now what reason can one assign for this singular appendage to Egyptian statues, but that it was intended by this to point out the connection which these figures had originally, as signs of ideas and symbolical images, with an entire series of similar signs—in a word, their extraction from an ideographic system? They were represented as attached to a pilaster, to show that they always depended on the system from which they had been extracted, that they continued to possess, in this system, their place, their signification, and their habitual purpose. In a word, Egyptian statues were attached to a pilaster, precisely to indicate that they were not real statues, to show that, devoid in themselves of all intention of imitation as *figures*, they had their existence and their reality only as ideas.

In my opinion it seems fully established, that in the first class, and in the greater number of Egyptian statues, there

never was, nor could have been, any intention of imitation, whether we consider the manner in which they were conceived, or whether we examine that in which they were executed. There results from this, that a similar judgment should be formed with regard to the statues of the second class; that is, of those which present a human head on a human body. This inference is corroborated by the observations already made, that in all Egyptian statues, either simple or compound, *the body is always the neglected part*; but so far neglected to that degree, that the bones or muscles were never expressed, nor was there any indication of flesh; in a word, nothing of what constitutes the imitation of human nature. The body of Egyptian statues, every one acknowledges, is less a real body than a kind of case or covering of a human body. One cannot but perceive on beholding it, that it has not the conditions of existence, nor the organs of life: besides, it is as we have already said, but the support, the pedestal of a symbolical image. Now, would they have placed on a body thus constituted, a differently organised head? That alone would imply a contradiction, and the Egyptians were not a people to do anything without a reason. For what purpose would they have associated a human head, endowed with all its organs, with a body destitute of all which belonged to it? Why would they have represented that part of man which is the cause of motion in all other parts, by giving him limbs incapable of use? Why, in a word, would they have made a well-shaped head united to a body which is not so? The fact is, the Egyptians never possessed so much skill, nor such want of motive: the system after which they executed the human head of their statues, is the same with that which they followed in executing the body of those statues. In the same manner as the hands and the feet of these statues present no articulation, the conformation of the face in the heads, presents in none of its parts that variety and roundness which nature and every work of art modelled after it presents. The bone over the eye, which was a more or less decided prominence, is generally formed on a level with the eye itself; the roundness of the chin, as well as that of the cheeks, is invariably given by rectilinear lines; without speaking of the very form of the eyes, the lips, the ears, which are more or less removed from the reality; and the total absence of the beard, and of the hair, the indication of which, however coarse, is to be

found on the rudest essays of Greek or Etruscan sculpture, could not have been omitted on Egyptian statues, often produced with prodigious care and industry, but in virtue of a systematic intention. There is not, certainly, on the heads of the Egyptian statues, no more than in the body itself of these statues, although the former are generally executed with more care and, if we may say so, with more talent than the latter, either more or less study of truth and intention of imitation. But the head being the principal sign of the idea, ought to be, for this very reason, treated with particular care; and this is what explains that kind of inequality between bodies, ill-shaped and generally executed with so much negligence, and heads where the mechanical execution is sometimes carried to the highest degree of finish and perfection. Nevertheless, some have pretended to find in some statues belonging to the most ancient, and to the most beautiful periods of Egyptian art, proofs in support of a contrary opinion, *an extreme variety of physiognomy, and marked differences either in the treatment of the whole or especially in forms of detail.*

It is in the rich collection of Turin, that the author of this theory flatters himself that he has discovered its principal elements; and he adds, *that the human heads of the Drovetti collection are in general of excellent execution, and many of them in a grand style, full of expression and truth.* The truth of physiognomy, the difference of conformation, the expression and the truth, lastly the grand style, would be qualities so new in the works of Egyptian sculpture, so opposite to every idea which has been hitherto formed of them, so little in consonance with the total absence of these same qualities in all the other monuments of this art, so contrary to the entire religious system, in harmony with which no one could doubt that these monuments have been produced, that it will not be sufficient to announce such facts without supporting them by a comparison with the monuments themselves which authorise them: and this is what has not yet been done. I acknowledge, with regard to myself, that I have not been struck in the same manner, or at least in the same degree, with the monuments in the Museum of Turin; among which there are certainly some which exhibit great perfection in execution, but always in that conventional system, which is not, and never was, founded on real observation, or on a studied imitation of nature. There is

always in the statues of the gods, of kings, of priests, among which some have thought to find an *extreme variety of physiognomy*, that invariable analogy, that habitual family air, that sacred type, which not only does not admit of any individual representation nor portrait, properly so called, but not even any real distinction of one god from another, of one man from another, nor positive expression of age, character, condition of the personages, either divine or mortal. I defy any one to affirm, by what fixed and undoubted signs, an Egyptian idol of the finest period of art, can be recognised and distinguished from another similar figure, from the sole conformation of the face, and from the character of the physiognomy; or at least, I shall wait until those are pointed out to me before I can pronounce that Egyptian art possessed *the grand style, the expression, the truth, the imitation of nature*; all the qualities, in short, which peculiarly and exclusively belong to Grecian art: I have but one last remark to make, which must not be passed over in silence, as it may present a means of a more satisfactory explanation than any other with regard to the true origin of this sacred type, the predominant feature of Egyptian art; I refer to those sculptured and painted heads on the coffins of mummies which deserve, for more than one reason, and under this two-fold view, to be considered as productions of art. It is not doubtful that if it could have formed a part of the conditions and resources of this art in Egypt, to represent the human figure with all its varieties of physiognomy, with all the differences of sex, age, condition, with all the varieties of complexion and colour, it would have been principally on the coffins of mummies that the most numerous and the most striking testimonials would have been found.

The preservation of the dead was considered the first among the Egyptian institutions, at once as a sacred custom, and as an essential element of health and salubrity. In fact, the dangers which the putrefaction of bodies might occasion under such an ardent climate as Egypt, at an early period made the priests, the founders and regulators of Egyptian civilisation, sensible of the necessity of embalming not only the bodies of men, but also those of the greater number of animals. Hence the sacred character impressed on this kind of duty, which was supposed to have been revealed by Osiris in some way, as a fundamental dogma of religion. Hence the prodigious number of mummies

of men and animals of which the catacombs of Egypt seem to afford an inexhaustible supply, and which proves that all the population of ancient Egypt was preserved in tombs. Indeed, the object and necessity of this practice as a measure of health are established by the existence of the same common custom among other nations ancient and modern, which are placed under a similar climate, and under like conditions: and especially by the observation that the Greeks, Romans, and even the Christians, continued also to embalm their dead in Egypt. Several Greek mummies are known at the present day, one of the most curious of which is now in the Cabinet du Roi, brought by M. Cailliaud. This laid down, it is evident that from the custom of thus preserving bodies in a state of solidity, so as to be able to resist any touch, that *they became as if of brass*, to avail myself of an expression of St. Augustine, now-a-days justified by monuments, must have resulted the idea which prevailed, of considering these bodies thus rendered indestructible, as kinds of statues. We have one of the most remarkable testimonies in every respect of the degree of preservation and indestructibility of which a mummy is capable, in the narrative which Herodotus gives us of the powerless outrages which Cambyzes made the body of Amasis undergo, when finding his inability to cut it up with the knife, he resolved on destroying it by fire. We find, therefore, that after his death, an Egyptian thus become of stone or of brass by this very method, found himself transformed into a kind of work of art, fashioned as an idol, and for this reason an object of veneration and worship, in consequence of those religious ideas which the theocracy attached to this salutary practice. The extreme care, after having thus placed the bodies beyond the power of corruption by embalming, in protecting them from all injury, by enclosing them in several cases of an incorruptible wood, by enveloping them in many thousands of linen bands, by stuffing them, if I may so express myself, with amulets of every kind—with little idols of every material—sorts of preservatives against evil genii, which have not, however, checked the modern Typhons,—this prodigious care of giving to the dead all the attire, and even the dress of the living, proves more and more that the ancient Egyptians entertained the idea of making man, after his decease, almost a god, and at the very least, an idol. But with this intention, which does not admit of a doubt, was there then also connected the idea of

preserving the image of the dead at the same time with the dead body itself—in other words, to add the portrait to the body? I do not think so: at least none of the masks placed on the mummy, enveloped with linen, or sculptured in the case of wood which encloses it—masks, a great number of which are to be found in every cabinet—present, most certainly, any imitation of definite features and of individual forms: it is always a general type which these masks present, and yet nothing would have been easier than to mould the figure of the dead, and to have thus made his real image serve as an indication of his tomb. This intention has been solely made good in the Greek mummies, on which genuine portraits have been found. Several of this kind are to be found in the Museum of Charles X., which seem to be painted in encaustic. But the Greeks proceeded in the arts according to principles different from the Egyptians, though they still followed their method of embalming bodies; and this very fact, that Greek mummies were frequently accompanied with their portraits, while the Egyptians never present any more than a general mask, fully proves, that at no period whatever, nor under any consideration, the Egyptians ever entertained the idea of making the imitation of nature an object of study, or of applying it to any use. Let any one now examine the general form of mummies, such as we are acquainted with, from innumerable examples; it will be seen, that here is to be found the primitive type of the statues of ancient Egypt: in other words, that it is the dead Egyptian, rendered incorruptible, and become an idol, and not the living moving Egyptian, which served as a model to the art of this country. A body fashioned less like a real body, than as the covering of another body, and terminating in a case-like form, the arms hanging down the sides, the feet joined parallel, in order that it may stand erect; this body, destitute of detail, of correct forms, of muscles and of articulation, surmounted by a head in which the general conformation of the human countenance is modified by no expression of individual features and of particular physiognomy, with an appendage to represent a beard, sole distinction between the two sexes—these are, with too few exceptions that these exceptions could invalidate the general principle—these are what the coffins of mummies and Egyptian statues present, and which authorises us to conclude, from this striking analogy, that the former served as types and models to the latter.

Should we require another proof elsewhere than among the Egyptians, we should find it in the primitive form given to the ancient statue of Diana of Ephesus, which is absolutely similar to that of a mummy, so that it is impossible to doubt, that it is, in fact, derived from this type; and as all the accessories, all the symbols with which this statue is covered, manifestly argue an Egyptian origin, it seems to me proved that the very form of this statue had neither a different origin or intention. The general form of the Hermes, those statues with a square pedestal with a human bust, and feet joined parallel, which issue from the extremity of this pedestal, statues of which Grecian art, at every period, made such frequent use, particularly (which is deserving of remark) *for the effigies of illustrious men*, furnishes still further a new and decided application of the same principle. It may be therefore admitted, as an established fact, that the Egyptians, by securing to the dead the soundness and the incorruptibility of the human form, were naturally led to make use of this form as an universal type for statues, and that it is from this dead nature that Egyptian art borrowed the principal characteristics which distinguish it: that rigidity of posture, that absence of motion, that absence of details—in a word, that uniformity and that immobility, symbols of eternity, of which the mummies, as well as the Egyptian idols, were destined to give an idea, and to offer an image.

Let us terminate those general reflections on Egyptian art, by drawing a parallel, which, if I do not mistake, is of a nature to strike every mind. One of the subjects which seem to have been treated with the utmost care and complacency by Egyptian artists, without doubt, because it was the dearest to the nation and the most essential to the religious worship, is that group of Isis nursing Horus, which is so frequently reproduced on every material, and in every proportion. A group almost similar in regard to the number, disposition, age, sex, and intention of the personages, is that of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus, or as the Italians say, the Madonna col Bambino, a subject which painting is no more wearied in producing in Italy, than public piety in contemplating it under every form, and at every period of art.

Now, laying out of consideration, all moral ideas, and religious intentions, which do not allow us under any consideration to compare the object of the worship of ancient Egypt and that of the Christian faith; considering this group only in regard to

its execution, what do we see in one and the other? The Egyptian group, always equally symmetrical, rectilinear, immoveable, never presents either the features of a mother or those of a child, never the least trace of affection, of a smile, or of a caress, never the least indication of tenderness or emotion; never, in a word, the least expression of any kind. Everything is always calm, impassive, imperturbable, in this goddess-mother nursing a god, her son; or rather we behold neither a deity nor a mother, nor a son, nor a god: this group is never anything more than the outward sign of an idea, and of an idea which shows neither affection or passion. It is not the true representation of a real action, still less, the just expression of a natural sentiment. But in the Christian group, from the primitive type handed down by Byzantine tradition, to the perfect model created by the genius of Raphael, what infinite abundance, what prodigious variety of features, of physiognomy, of characters, has not art been able to derive from so simple a subject, so restricted in appearance? Under how many different forms, the unbounded tenderness of a mother, the ineffable purity of a virgin, that inexpressible blending of human affection and of celestial virtue, of physical perfections and supernatural charms, have been produced and reproduced by thousands of artists, and several times by the same artist, without art, working at once from nature, and from a sentiment inexhaustible as itself, never having had occasion to repeat the same features—to produce the same attitudes. There was, therefore, between modern art and that of ancient Egypt, a radical and essential difference, or rather there were principles of art among the moderns as among the Greeks, because they possessed the power of imitation, because it was their aim, not only to represent forms, but to express sentiments, to speak to the soul through the senses, to elevate, to purify our affections through the means of the objects which excite them, and by the representation of physical beauty presented to our eyes, to produce within ourselves the image of that moral beauty, without which there is no art, or nothing, at least, which deserves its name.

FOURTH LECTURE.

General glance on Etruscan Art—Its connection with Greek Art, proved by the choice of subjects represented on Etruscan Monuments—Historical facts which support this observation—Political System of Ancient Etruria favourable to the development of the Arts—Influence of the religious institutions of this people relatively to the same subject—General Characteristics of Etrurian Art—Examination of its principal Monuments—Architecture—Plastic Art—Description of a Sepulchral Urn recently found at Chiusi, and which ought to be considered as the most ancient monument of Etruscan Statuary.

WE are now going to turn our attention to art among the Etruscans. This subject might, doubtless, give rise to numerous developments; but as my sole object is to present some general views on art, to consider it in its aggregate and its genius, I shall confine myself to a few concise and exact observations, in corroboration of which, I shall take care to point out the monuments most fitted to give you an exact, as well as a just idea of Etruscan art.

The art of the Etrurians comes immediately after that of the Egyptians in the order of time, it also follows very close in regard to the peculiarities and the characteristics of style. We have on this point a positive testimony, and one of high authority—that of Strabo, who has remarked, that Egyptian figures bear a complete resemblance to the most ancient Etruscan statues, as well as to the primitive statues of the Greek style.

There was, therefore, at a certain period, a conformity, if not real, at least apparent and visible to a superficial observer, between the works of primitive Egyptian art and that of Etruria, and of that of Greece. Etruscan art is thus connected, by its origin, if not by its principles with Egyptian art. In another respect, and at another period of its history, it is connected in a similar manner with Grecian art by the influence which the latter exercised on the perfecting of the Etrurian style. It is under this twofold consideration, so deserving of interest, that I propose to survey the series of Etruscan monuments which have come down to us. I shall not bewilder

myself with questions of history and chronology, foreign to the principal subject which engages our attention. Whether the primitive civilisation of Etruria was indigenous or foreign, whether civilisation was introduced by Greek hands or ultimately by national hands; are questions which I shall not occupy myself in investigating. Each of the two systems which I have just mentioned, have found partisans and adversaries equally skilful, but I shall not adhere to either one party or the other; but once more, I must repeat, this is neither my object nor intention. I shall content myself with searching out the principal facts which tend to throw light on the history of Etruscan art, with pointing out the principal monuments, which serve to manifest its genius: every other discussion would be irrelevant and superfluous here.

Now among these facts, there are two which must be considered among the first, and as of no doubtful authority, which prove the influence exercised by the Greeks in the development of civilisation in Etruria, and consequently in the culture of the arts. I would speak in the first place of the language, the characters of which are certainly borrowed, either directly or indirectly from the same source as those of the Greek language. All the letters of the Etrurian alphabet are to be found in Greek inscriptions of the ancient kind, and if up to this time some proper names have been deciphered, and some words, and even some entire phrases on the Etrurian inscriptions which have come down to us, it is by the assistance of Greek and its roots that any success has been obtained. The labours of the learned Lanzi have founded on this point, a theory, which is not, doubtless, complete and satisfactory on every point, but which has at least established a method of interpretation the most reasonable, and the most fruitful in happy applications. The second fact, and one perhaps still more decisive than the former, is that the entire series of Etrurian monuments existing at the present day, are composed of Greek subjects, subjects belonging to either Grecian mythology or history. No one can gainsay the inference which incontestably results from such a fact; that the origin of the civilisation, and the development of art in Etruria, proceeded also from the Greeks; for, if the Etrurians had had in the beginning a society founded on institutions, beliefs, *heroic* traditions, different from those of the Greeks, how could it have happened that their monuments should represent solely facts which are connected with the

institutions, the beliefs, the traditions of Greece? How could they have disinherited themselves from their own history, by replacing everywhere on their monuments their national recollections by foreign examples? That is neither possible nor likely. Besides, the observation I have just pointed out, already made by Winckelmann and followed by the most skilful critics of the present day, has been every day more confirmed by the discovery and examination of new monuments; and this fact may be considered, as solidly established as it is fruitful in consequences.

I have carefully examined all those monuments which still exist in great numbers in some towns of Tuscany, especially at Perugia, at Cortona, at Chiusi, at Corneto, and at Volterra; in this latter town especially, the public museum contains a collection, the richest in this kind which exists anywhere, of urns or of sarcophagi in coarse alabaster, which is called alabaster of Volterra, and which in fact forms almost everywhere the soil of that part of Tuscany. These urns have certainly been worked on the spot, and by workmen as well as with materials of the country itself. Now all the subjects represented in basso relievo on the front of these sarcophagi, are connected with the heroic history of Greece. We may observe there, as in a series of paintings, almost all the celebrated occurrences of the history of Thebes, of the siege of Troy, of the heroic cycle which immediately followed this great event, especially the adventures of Ulysses, and the calamities of Orestes. Several of these bassi relievi, very interesting for the history of the heroic times, have been published. The testimony of these monuments is decisive. It attests that art in Etruria was Greek in the choice and disposition of subjects. We shall see further that it was Greek likewise in character and style. The small number of historical data, of a positive date and of certain authority, which we possess relative to Etruscan art, come still further in support of the facts I have just established.

The most ancient offering which was sent to Jupiter at Olympia, according to Pausanias, who saw it in its place, came from an ancient Etruscan king, named Arimnus, who lived at a period anterior to that of Midas and of Gyges, contemporaries of Romulus and of Numa. Somewhat later in the third century of Rome, the Agyllæans, an Etruscan people, had formed a rich treasure, and sent frequent embassies to Delphi. These

facts prove with certainty that there existed, from time to time, from the most ancient times, between Greece and Etruria, relations founded, probably, on a community of origin, or at least, on a grand analogy of beliefs, which could not have been without great influence on the form and on the direction of Etruscan art. But the principal fact, the authenticity of which cannot be doubted, nor the consequence eluded, is the emigration of the Corinthian Demaratus, who came to establish himself in Etruria, with an entire colony of artists, in the second century of Rome, about 664 years before our era. The names given by Pliny to the two principal artists, Eucheir and Eugrammos, may be, as has been sustained with some reason, generic names, as they are certainly significant; but this changes nothing with regard to the authority of the fact. It is not the less certain that Demaratus on establishing himself in an Etruscan town, named afterwards Tarquinii, established there with him a school of Greek artists; that this germ of the arts of Greece, transplanted to a soil already doubtless prepared for it, was rapidly developed there; that lastly, at a later period, the son of this same Demaratus having become king of Rome under the name of Tarquin, made those arts of Etruria, imported by Greek hands, flourish there under him. These are positive facts which no scepticism can shake, and which, serving as a basis to the entire history of Etruscan art, manifestly prove that this art received, from its very origin, the influence more or less considerable of the Greek school. This is in fine what monuments prove, and this kind of proof is the most certain, the most positive, and the most intelligible of all. Indeed, the most ancient monuments of Etruscan art have scarcely any other existence than in the testimonies of history; however, we can collect from these some valuable information.

Pliny speaks of paintings anterior to the foundation of Rome, which were still to be seen in his time at Ardea, a town which still remains at the present day; these paintings were from the hand of a Greek of *Ætolia*, named Helotas. He also mentions others of the same age, which were to be seen at Lanuvium, and which represented Helen and Atalanta, two personages of the heroic history of Greece; others similar existed, and still more ancient, at Cære, an Etruscan town, the same which possessed a treasure at Delphi.

Lastly, Quintilian speaks of paintings executed in the fifth

and sixth centuries of Rome, the subject of which is derived from Greek fables, and which bore, like those of Ardea, inscriptions in ancient Latin. It is evident that they are always Greeks who are reputed to be the authors of these ancient works, or Greek subjects which are represented on them. It was always, at whatever period, Greece which instructed Rome and Etruria, which furnished them with artists and subjects, which reigned, in a word, in what has been borrowed from it, as well as in the models, for which they were indebted to it, which reigned at once by persons and by things. But up to this moment I have only spoken of monuments long since destroyed, and it may be objected to me that Pliny did not know the ancient history of Rome, and that he had not well studied the ancient history of art. It may also be alleged that Quintilian was mistaken, with regard to the age and the sense of those inscriptions in old Latin. It is very easy, whenever any historical testimony is found in the way, to reject its authority, and thus one can give oneself, at little expense, the air of a learned person, and a profound thinker, when all it costs is to pronounce, from one's own private authority, *Pliny and Quintilian guilty* of ignorance of the language and history of their country; when we, on one hand, are discussing monuments which are destroyed, while they, on the other hand, are speaking of monuments which they had before their eyes.

Let us, however, put aside Pliny and Quintilian with their suspected assertions, and let us survey the monuments which remain at the present day. There was a time, which is not very far removed from us, when Etruscan monuments were extremely numerous, Etruscan art was to be found almost everywhere. At the present day it is to be met with almost nowhere. Can monuments have thus disappeared by some sudden catastrophe, and as if by the effect of some great emigration? No: all has remained the same, or at least very nearly so; the monuments have changed neither place nor nature, opinion alone has changed with regard to them: it was in a word a revolution in science which caused this destruction of Etruscan art. After works from the hands of this people had been discovered in every place where they existed, frequently in places where they did not exist, at the present day an opposite conclusion has been come to, and it is almost denied that any exist; it is now maintained that almost all the monuments considered as Etruscan, belong to the primitive

Greek art, and all what had, been doubtless too liberally, attributed to Etruria, must be restored to Greece. In my opinion, these two methods of considering them is going somewhat too far, and I think that the truth will be found nearly midway in the interval which separates them. Science has, like all human opinions, its vicissitudes, its changes; and, if I may so speak, its fits of passion and caprice; it has also—who can believe it?—its subjects of fashion and fancy. Rejected opinions are returned to, only to turn away from them again: systems are raised on the ruins and with the materials of other systems; and this is what has happened with regard to the Etruscans. Everything was Etruscan, in the monuments of the ancient style, at the time of the Gori, of the Passeri, of the Caylus. In the present age, less than a century from the former period, the existence of some rare Etruscan monuments is unwillingly admitted, and our modern antiquaries have become, with regard to these monuments, genuine *Iconoclasts*. Let us once more endeavour to keep the middle path, which at least in the peaceable domain of archæology, cannot be imputed to us as a crime. Let us endeavour, in a word, to keep ourselves from the error of those who concede all to Etruria, and of those who refuse it everything. It is certain that there must have existed in ancient times a great number of monuments of Etruscan art. Rome was adorned with them in its very infancy; it was a Tuscan called Veturius Mamurius who made the shields (ancilia) of the temple of Numa, and who made in bronze the statue of Vertumna, a Tuscan deity, in the Tuscan suburb of Rome. At a later period all the architecture, all the sculpture, of the public edifices at Rome were in the Tuscan style, according to the testimony of Pliny. Some wonderful monuments of that period still remain in the Cloaca Maxima, the quay of the Tiber, and the substructions of the Capitol which remain at the present day, and date from the time of the two Tarquins. At a still later period, and when Rome had attained the height of her power, they were still Etruscan works, such as the Colossus of Apollo in bronze, of excellent workmanship, placed in the library of the Temple of Augustus, which formed the principal ornaments of this queen of the world. Rome indeed, and the entire world, according to the testimony of some ancient authors, were inundated with statues of the Tuscan style; and the great

number as well as the merit of their works will be amply proved by this single fact, that the town of the Volsinii, now Bolsena, was taken for the sake of the two thousand statues which it possessed. If at that time war was thus made not against the productions of art, but for the productions of art, they must have been held in high estimation in the opinion of the people of that age, and it is not, moreover, the sole occasion when ancient history furnishes us with the opportunity of remarking that the independence of nations was compromised by the very works which attest their superiority, and that thus genius became, contrary to its nature and its *intention*, fatal to the liberty of man.

Now, if there existed in ancient times so great a number of Etruscan works, could it be possible that none of them should be preserved to the present day? This is not probable. Independently therefore of the monuments which bear Etruscan inscriptions, and which must be incontestably recognised, on this ground, as belonging to Etruscan art, we must also restore to it a great number, which do not bear the same attestation, but present the same character.

The ancient Etruscans possessed indeed, like the Greeks, a religious system favourable to the development of the arts, by reason of the multiplicity of statues which this worship required, and a form of government which was not the less propitious to it. Etruria was divided into twelve political associations or cities, each of which had its own chief called Lucumo; these Lucumones were, as it appears, subordinate, in a certain manner, to a superior or king, such as Porsenna seems to have been, who was so celebrated in the wars caused by the expulsion of the Tarquins. These twelve chiefs were elective as well as the superior chief. Hence the attachment which was felt by that nation towards the kings of Rome, who were themselves but elective princes: an attachment which would not be sufficiently justified by the interest of a single Etruscan town for only one of its citizens, but which is fully explained by a great national sympathy such as we have just pointed out. We have besides another proof in the hatred which the Etruscan nation bore to the kings of other states, to such a degree, that when the Veientes, their allies, had abolished among themselves the republican mode of government, to give themselves a master, the Etruscans not only renounced their alliance, but even declared war against them.

Add to this that the government among the Etruscans seems to have been democratic. For questions of peace and war were only discussed in public assemblies of the twelve cities which composed the body of the nation, assemblies which were held at Bolsena in the temple of the goddess Volturna. These same associations of states, formed of the number of twelve : these same common deliberations, on important questions of public interest, held in the temples as if to place the national liberties under the support of religion ; all these noble and beautiful institutions existed in like manner in Greece from the most ancient periods, and prove more and more the community of origin and belief, and the conformity of political establishments which existed among all these nations. They further prove that a political rule so favourable to the development of the arts, by the free exercise, by the brilliant scope which it affords to all the faculties of man, must have produced on either side the same results, and consequently that Greece and Etruria, placed in almost similar condition, must, all circumstances being similar, have advanced at an almost equal pace in the career of the arts. However, and it is an essential distinction which it is proper to establish in this place, if art was favoured among the Etruscans, almost to the same degree that it was among the Greeks, by political institutions, it was not entirely the same among both nations, with regard to religious institutions. The predominating feature of the Etruscan nation, a feature which had been the result of a natural disposition, and principally of a sacerdotal system very skilfully combined, was a gloomy and cruel superstition. The science of the aruspices, and the discipline of the augurs were, as is well-known, of Etruscan invention ; it was from Etruria that this kind of superstition, reduced to a system carefully drawn up, was imported at an early period into Rome, where it became the religion of the state, and as such, intolerant and absolute ; while in Greece, ideas, originally similar, but removed at an early period from the exclusive dominion of the priests, exercised, through the means of oracles and great national festivities, which continually placed the people in movement and the citizens in connection one with the other, —exercised, I say, no other influence, and acquired no other authority than that of popular legends and traditions. With this feature of the national character in ancient Etruria, a feature which emanates from a primitive disposition, strength-

ened by the sacerdotal system, we shall soon see how strongly impressed are all the monuments of this people. Hence the human sacrifices which were for a long time in use there, of which indeed many traces are to be found on these very monuments, and which, when this barbarous custom was entirely abolished, by the progress of civilisation, were replaced by small figures in terra cotta, called *oscillæ*, of which it is not impossible that some should have come down to us at the present day, among the number of Etruscan statues which remain. Hence the blood-stained combats of gladiators which were also of Etruscan origin, and which, after having been for a long time a game among that people, became a passion among the Romans. Hence, in fine, the terrible images made to inspire terror which are so frequently produced on the monuments of this people, the *larvæ*, the phantoms, the monsters of all kinds, the *Scyllæ*, the *Medusa*, the furies with hideous visage, armed with hammers, spits, and instruments of torture, and always death represented with hideous features, and divine justice under avenging forms, while in Greece, milder manners, cultivated by a more humane religion, represented death under agreeable, smiling, and almost voluptuous images. It is not then doubtful that a mode of beholding things so different among the two nations, must have impressed quite a different character on the productions of their arts. The grace, which predominates over every other quality of Greek art, both as the essential attribute of that art, and as the faithful expression of the national genius, is replaced in the works of Etruscan art by a sort of coarseness and energy which evinces quite a different principle. A bony, robust, strongly developed system, muscles strongly marked, vigorous forms, attitudes almost always strained; in a word, a painful play of all the muscles, combined with an execution frequently hard or too marked, an expression almost always forced and unnatural, an over abundance, an exaggeration of anatomical details, these are the characteristics of the productions of the Etruscan style, which can be called originals; and you may see, in these few words, how much Etruscan art differs radically from Grecian and Egyptian art. For in the latter, everything is immoveable and in repose; in the other, not a limb which is not in action, not a muscle which is not in motion; in the one no appearance of anatomical studies; in the other a display of anatomical science. In Egypt we find always the

same monumental position, the same parallel attitude, the same rectilinear execution. In Etruria, energetic action, even to violence, correct execution even to excess: bold effects, even fanciful. In a word, if the influence of a religious system, which had enchained man, his mind and his hands, is to be perceived in the works of Egyptian art, in those of Etruscan art, the influence of another sacerdotal system is to be perceived, which directing, in its interest and to its profit, the natural energy, and the national liberty of the people, occupied it on bloody games, on atrocious spectacles, and ever requiring from the artist none but terrible objects and images, had rendered, so to speak, art itself stern and hard like the nation, and inhuman like its religious worship.

Let us apply these general observations to the monuments, setting aside from this discussion those belonging to architecture, which it is not our object, for the present, to include in this examination. Let us, however, say one word with regard to it; all that remains of Etruscan architecture, in the Cloaca Maxima and in the substructions of the Capitol at Rome, in the remains of the temple of Jupiter Latialis, at Mont Albano, in different constructions of the ancient villa of Tusculum recently discovered above Frascati, and especially in the walls of the Etruscan towns, Cortona, Fiesole, and Volterra, a great portion of which still remains, all is marked with the same character of strength, power, and energy, which distinguishes the monuments of this people, and which are characteristics of its genius. These walls are built of stones of prodigious size, joined without cement, and cut square, but not in regular courses; in which they differ from the walls called Cyclopean, which are built of irregular blocks.

The arches, which are still to be found in some of these edifices, as in those of the Cloaca Maxima, a magnificent gate at Perugia, and another at Volterra, are also built without cement, with wonderful accuracy and precision in their construction. At the sight of these monuments one cannot but deem the spirit of the people who raised them as that of a people capable of the highest efforts of energy and valour. The Greeks also built in the same system with rectangular stones and joined without cement. It is in this style that their most beautiful temples are built, which still brave the effects of time and the attacks of the barbarian. But the walls of these ancient towns which still exist, those of Mycenæ, which I have

not seen, and those of Pæstum, of Tauromenium, of Syracuse, are built of blocks of smaller size, yet with wonderful care and precision. Solidity is above all conspicuous in these constructions of the Greeks and Etruscans, but even in this, as in everything else, this quality is impressed with the peculiar character of each people: among the Etruscans it was solidity with all that could evince strength; among the Greeks it was solidity with all the grace it could call forth. There is a monument of Etruscan architecture so singular in its kind, and which so manifestly bore the impress of the genius of this people, energetic to excess, and bold even to a degree of wildness, that I ought to devote a few words to it although this monument no longer exists except in history, and which has even become a kind of historic problem. I mean the tomb of Porsenna, of which Pliny has left us a description so wonderful that he himself seems to throw a doubt upon its construction. Monuments bearing an analogy to this which still exist, such as the presumed tombs of the Curatii at Albano at some miles from Rome, tend however to prove that the description of Pliny is traced, if not after a real monument, at least after the traditions and customs of genuine Etrurian origin; and a skilful antiquary has judiciously availed himself of them, in support of a supposed restoration of this tomb of Porsenna, which unquestionably ought to be restored to the domain of the history of art, in the same manner as so many other monuments which had been formerly thrown back into the realms of fable. Plastic, or statuary in clay, must have been, from the facility of its execution, from the very nature of the material, so common and so abundant, the first branch of art which was cultivated among the Etrurians; it is even said that this people were the inventors of it. But one thing is certain, that Rome, in the first five centuries of its existence, knew no other ornaments for its temples than Etruscan statues, bassi relievi, and *friezes*, in baked clay. Such was the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus executed under Tarquinius Priscus, and other statues of Pluto and Hercules, of the same period and from the same hand; such were all those gods of clay, *dii fictiles* of the ancient Romans, wretched gods in appearance, but in reality deserving of respect, whose noble poverty and august rudeness were opposed with so much advantage by the old republicans, like Cato, to those new gods of gilt bronze which had not checked the corruption of morals, and the fall of the state; and when

Augustus boasted of having found a town all of bricks, and of having left it all of marble, perhaps he passed a severe censure rather than an eulogium on his age. To return to the ancient Etruscans, the Veientes and the Volsci had long disputed with them the superiority in this kind of works; of which we have a remarkable example in those bassi relievi of the Volsci found at Velletri in 1784. The other materials on which Etruscan statuary exercised itself, when marble was not at hand (the beautiful quarries which Tuscany possesses were not opened until the time of Augustus), were stones of a soft calcareous *tufa*, or of a coarse alabaster, materials of which the Etruscans availed themselves principally for funereal monuments, for urns ornamented with bassi relievi, which compose in every respect the richest and the most interesting series of Etruscan monuments. These indeed present to us an almost complete series of mythological history, according to the subjects which are represented on them, as well as the history of Etruscan art, in its different periods. The greater number, however, of these *funereal* monuments do not belong to a period of very high antiquity; they belong to the last centuries of the Roman republic, and there are a great number which must have been executed in the time of the empire. I shall point out the principal ones here, those which are remarkable for their antiquity, or for the merit of their style, and which thus correspond with the two extreme periods of the history of art. Among the most ancient monuments of Etruscan statuary, I shall mention two figures in basso rilievo, representing an Etruscan warrior, with an inscription in that language; monuments in *tufa* or coarse peperino, which are at Volterra, and at Florence, and which incontestably indicate, by the rudeness of the style and the imperfection of the drawing, the first period of the art; but especially a cinerary urn in calcareous stone recently found in a tomb at Chiusi, the ancient Clusium, which ought to take its place at the head of all the monuments of Etruscan art. It is a kind of case or hollow body in the form of an idol, the lower part truncated, with the two arms placed parallel over the other on the breast, and a head to correspond is placed on it. This head, in complete preservation, as well as the entire monument, presents all the characteristics of the primitive style, large prominent eyes placed obliquely, the eyebrows indicated by a single line, the nose rectilinear, and without articulation, the mouth raised obliquely on the sides so as

to express a forced smile, the hair arranged in parallel masses falling vertically, a beard indicated as a simple appendage terminating in a point without any detail,—all characteristics which are to be found more or less marked in the primitive Greek sculptures, which evince an imperfect and rude imitation, as yet devoid of all intention, of all expression of individuality, and which moreover present no positive trace of Egyptian influence. I add that the eyebrows, the ball of the eye, the beard, the hair were painted black, as well as the nails, and two kinds of bracelets marked on the arms. This is not the place to explain myself on the archaeological nature of this monument, and on its analogy with Egyptian vases called *canopi*, and on the profound meaning which may be attached to it. These considerations, foreign to the subject which occupies us, shall be developed in a collection of unedited monuments of which, I may say, it shall not form the least important part. But in recommending it to your attention, I cannot help making a reflection which I may be allowed to communicate. The cinerary urn, for it is certainly one, and the ashes which it contains, were found untouched at the opening of the sepulchre in which it was deposited; this urn, which enclosed the remains of a contemporary of Porsenna, perhaps of one of his ancestors, has come from the depth of the tomb to give us the first certain lesson, to present to us the first authentic model of an art in its infancy.

Thus, perhaps, three thousand years have elapsed before the period of this late discovery! Thus, it is in the abodes of the dead that are preserved, discovered at different periods, almost all the elements of our knowledge—and we should know almost nothing of antiquity, but for the care which was taken of the dead, and, we must add, but for the profane interest which makes us violate their last abodes. Who can say how many treasures of erudition the earth preserves in its bosom, with thousands of buried bodies on that still virgin soil of Greece and Sicily, where, whenever one digs up the soil, a tomb is always to be found, and in this tomb, always vases, urns, instruments, objects once sacred, now simple objects of curiosity or instruction. The history of civilisation and of ancient art is to be found, so to speak, written stratum after stratum, century after century, in the bosom of the earth which conceals its elements. Each story of a tomb corresponds with an historic period, and even beneath the last depths which have been

reached, they are still to be found, belonging to a period beyond the reach of history. Thus these tombs recently found near Albano, under a bed of lava which issued from the crater of Mount Alban, the eruptions of which have ceased from time immemorial; these tombs, more ancient, doubtless, than those of the Nile, which present small urns in baked clay, imitating the rustic dwellings of the first inhabitants of *Latium*, in comparison with which the *roofs of the poor Evander, tecta pauperis Evandri*, would have been, perhaps, magnificent palaces. —what a boundless field do they open to the imagination! what an important place do those monuments, so simple, so rude, take up, in reality, in the vast domain of the past! and what an incalculable space do they attest that human civilisation has passed over, on this sole ground of *Latium*, from these little urns of clay, to the pyramid of Caius Cestius, and to the superb mausolea of Cecilia Metella, of Augustus, and of Adrian!

From an account of the excavations at Cuma by the Count of Syracuse, in the *Athenæum* for Feb. 12, 1853, we extract the following, which strongly confirms the above observation: "It is a singular fact, that the Roman tombs, which we find from seven to eighteen feet below the soil, are built on Greek tombs, which extend in many cases even to forty feet beneath, and these again on other primitive tombs at the depth of sixty feet, which is about the level of the sea. On what accumulated generations and structures are we now standing."—*Note of Translator.*

FIFTH LECTURE.

Continuation of the same subject—Funerary Etruscan Urns; of their importance in an historical view, and in that of Art—Pateræ or Mystic Mirrors—Etruscan Bronzes: different kinds of these Monuments—Engraved stones in the form of Scarabæi; how they are to be distinguished among the other Monuments of Etruscan Style—Etruscan Painting, and in the first place those of the Vases in baked clay—Refutation of the false or exaggerated opinion which has for a long time prevailed with regard to these Vases—Vases properly Etruscan—Paintings of the Etruscan Tombs, especially those of Corneto—Remarks on the three sepulchral grottoes recently discovered near that town—Conclusion: parallel between art among the ancient Etruscans, and among the modern Tuscans.

I HAVE hitherto refrained from speaking, with some details, of the Etruscan urns in stone and alabaster, of which the museum at Volterra possesses so large a collection. I have already said that the bassi relievi with which they are ornamented, all belong to Greek history and mythology. I must add here some statements in support of this general observation. It is not alone because the renown of the heroes of Thebes and Troy had penetrated to every country, that the representation of these two great events are to be found reproduced so frequently on the funerary monuments of the Etruscans; it was because these fables had in reality for them a national interest. Thus, Pelops, Œdipus, Tydeus, Hercules, Theseus, Peleus, Achilles, Philoctetes, Ulysses, all those heroes so celebrated in the annals of ancient Greece, and so frequently represented on the monuments of Greek art, are represented in the same manner on those belonging to Etruscan art. It is not to be supposed either, that the custom of giving in the Etruscan language the name of Greek personages, arose from this, that these personages being foreign to Etruria would not have been recognised unless they were distinguished by their names. In the first place there exists to my knowledge but one single Etruscan urn on which the persons are named, that which represents the vengeance and expiation of Orestes. Secondly, this would be on the part of an entire nation a very singular custom, decorating its monuments with facts which were foreign to it, and with heroes who were unknown to it,

so that without inscriptions in its own language, both one and the other would have been unintelligible to it. But this practice, of which, I repeat, that we possess but one example, must be attributed to quite different motives. It was a pure simple imitation of what had been the custom in Greece itself, and at every period of art, in which each figure was accompanied by its name, as Pausanias informs us in speaking of the chest of Cypselus and of the paintings of Polygnotus, as a great number of Greek vases still show; it is thus a fresh proof of the connection, with regard to origin and taste, which existed between the arts of Greece and Etruria. I shall add that this custom was founded on the nature of things, for the same phenomenon has been reproduced under the same form, and in the same countries, at the distance of many centuries, at the period which has been called the revival of the arts. It is, indeed, well known, that at these first periods of the revival of art, paintings were covered with inscriptions which designated the persons; and what was more, long legends, which seemed to issue from the mouth of these personages, indicated the subject, and were substitutes for expression which the unskilful artist could never give; so that the painter himself said in reality, through the means of a written legend, what he could not make these figures say through the means of his art. The Greeks were never reduced to this state of incapability and rudeness; but it formed a part of the simplicity of their genius, that everything should explain itself without difficulty, that every person should make itself known without circumlocution, and as on the theatre the personages announced themselves for what they were, saying seriously, and not, as Boileau would seem to say in a joke, "I am Orestes," or "I am Agamemnon," in the same way the custom of adding to the figures the name of the personages was practised at every period of the art; and we must allow that this practice had nothing in it but what may be considered natural and rational. We would do well ourselves to follow this practice, when we see in our public exhibitions subjects so obscure, compositions so complicated, that without the aid of a guide book, we could not frequently guess its meaning; and if a certain picture reaches posterity without the escort of a guide book, it will afford matter for more than a single mistake to its interpreters, and at all events some serious torture to future antiquarians. But let us return to the Etruscans. Independently of the

interest which is attached to these Etruscan vases, in connection with the subjects which are represented on them, for the collection of these subjects constitutes an almost complete series of mythological history, they present still further in connection with art another powerful motive of interest, for in the different manner in which a similar subject is treated, *the almost entire gradation of Etruscan art* can be followed from the period in which art, uncultivated and rude, chose in preference subjects barbarous in some way like itself, to that in which art, following in its progress that of civilisation, and ameliorated like the morals of the period, represented subjects less atrocious, or represented them in a less barbarous manner. I shall mention in particular, as in connection with these two extreme periods of art, an unpublished urn of the Museum of Volterra, which represents the human sacrifice offered by Achilles to the manes of Patroclus, a subject in which the barbarous manner of the execution is in perfect harmony with that of the subject; and three urns of a beautiful style and of a beautiful period, representing the death of Agamemnon, that of Elpenor, and Paris recognised by his brothers; subjects frequently repeated, and in the choice of which there may be always remarked that predominant taste of the Etruscans for tragic representations, but which appear to be, from the excellent arrangement, the lively and natural motion of the figures, executed in the school of the Greeks, and under the inspiration of their genius. Sometimes these bassi relievi are painted, sometimes gilt; frequently they are terminated by a figure of a man or woman seated, with a crown or any other symbolic object in their hand, and the head of which, generally of the natural size, seems to be a portrait joined to a body of a smaller size; a deformity which must not be attributed to the art, as it was enforced by the necessity of keeping the entire figure on the cover of the sepulchral urn, but which does not the less constitute a disproportion, and consequently a real monstrosity. For the most part these Greek subjects, treated on Etruscan urns, present some particulars or accessories which differ from the traditions or customs of the Greeks, as we are acquainted with them from the original monuments of this people. We must not infer from this, that the Etruscans had peculiar traditions on the *Homeric* fables, but that they followed in certain cases traditions different from those which we possess. When one considers how many Greek poems,

without reckoning the tragic and comic plays, are at the present day irrecoverably lost to us, one ought not to be astonished that the Etruscans should have known many things that we are ignorant of; and one ought to be surprised rather, that we do not find anything on their monuments but what we know already. Sometimes, also, the Etruscan artists represented Greek achievements with costumes, arms, accessories, derived from the customs and habits of their own nation. Thus the gate of Thebes, on a basso relievo representing the death of Capaneus, is represented like the ancient gate of Volterra which still remains at the present day, for the Etruscan artist, working at Volterra, must have imitated the model he had before his eyes.

But this kind of want of fidelity of costume is to be found among all nations, and at all periods of art. It is not so very long since we ourselves brought on the stage *Æneas* in a wig of the time of Louis XIV., *Achilles* in red buskins, and *Cleopatra* in a hoop, that we should evince such rigorous criticism with regard to the Etruscans, whose costume did not deviate so far from the truth, and was certainly not so ridiculous. *Raphael*, in his *School of Athens* and in his *Parnassus*, did not, doubtless, make it a point to be faithful to the Greek costume, and we are but slightly struck with it. I shall say further, if it was necessary to pass a severe judgment upon this principle on the productions of our best artists, we should cause great dissatisfaction; we should exact from them, that they should acquire extensive information, that they should devote themselves to studies which would completely make them deviate from the principal object of their art. They would doubtless lose in point of talent, what they would gain in point of science; and all being well considered, it would be much better for them and for us, that they should give up the thoughts of becoming learned antiquaries, in order that they might not cease to be skilful painters. I now come to another very celebrated class of Etruscan monuments, which have preserved to us a great number of compositions of the highest interest, in connection with archæology and art; I mean those disks of bronze, with a handle, formerly called *pateræ*, but which at the present day are unanimously recognised to be *mystic mirrors*. These mirrors are ornamented on the concave side, with a composition engraved in simple outlines by a process similar to that of modern engraving, with the graver; so that if the ancients

were not led to the discovery and use of engraving, it is very evident that they wanted for that but the will, or the opportunity. The compositions engraved on the mirrors belong all, without exception, to Greek fables, as they also appear to be indebted to Grecian art in the style of the drawing; but the most frequently they bear inscriptions in the Etruscan language, and the costumes of the personages as well as the choice of the principal accessories also belong to Etruscan habits, so that it is natural and necessary to place them in the class of Etruscan monuments, those at least which present the characteristics I have pointed out. The most remarkable of those mirrors are the celebrated *patera Cospiana*, in the Museum of the Institute of Bologna, representing the birth of Minerva; the *patera Borgia*, which represents the birth of Bacchus; another on which Vulcan works at the Trojan horse; Hercules between Glory and Pleasure, and many others, the enumeration of which would lead me too far. This class of monuments does not seem to have been hitherto studied with all the attention, all the interest it deserves: it has made known to us, in the most authentic manner, the principal deities of the Etruscan system under the names they bore in that system, and consequently, the connection of the Etruscan religion with that of the Greeks from which it emanated: it has also made us acquainted with some of the Greek fables, of the most ancient cycle, represented under the Etruscan costume: it has given us the genuine elements of the Etruscan alphabet, and consequently the key, which some day will lead to the understanding of the language itself, in the knowledge of which we must confess little progress has been made as yet. Lastly, it is to this class of monuments, generally of the most finished execution, and generally of the most ancient period, that we are indebted for the most perfect models which we hitherto possess of genuine Etruscan design, such as it was practised under the influence, more or less direct, of the Greek school. The study of these valuable monuments cannot be too much recommended, from which we must say that hitherto all the fruit has not been derived, which could have been produced from them. I add to these monuments of bronze, the figures, statues, groups, or statuettes of this material which compose the most numerous series of Etruscan monuments. From the most ancient times, the Etruscans were celebrated for their skill in casting bronze, in working gold and silver, and inde-

pendently of the testimonies of the ancients, which are numerous and positive, monuments of this skilfulness have come down to us which admit of no doubt on that point: such are, in the first rank, the famous *Chimæra* of the Florence gallery, by the side of which we must place the celebrated *Wolf* of the capitol; the latter monument dates from the time of the republic, while the *Chimæra* is of the time of the empire; the statue called the *Haranguer*, a work of the age of the Antonines; a statuette of *Apollo*, in the Cabinet du Roi, a production of the best style and of the best period of the Etruscan art; all works, with the exception of the *Wolf*, which bear Etruscan inscriptions, without speaking of a number of small statues, with or without inscriptions, but of the same style, of different degrees of merit and antiquity in many collections, principally in those of Florence, of Cortona, and in our own. Among those statuettes, there are a great number which represent warriors in forced attitudes, which are supposed to be gladiators. It is indeed well known, and I have already had occasion to make the remark, that these bloody spectacles derive their origin from Etruria; and it is probable that as these kinds of spectacles were celebrated in particular at the funerals of the rich, the statuettes in question, which are frequently found in tombs, were deposited there as a reminiscence and as a memorial of these funeral games.

These Etruscan bronzes form unquestionably one of the classes of Etruscan monuments in which one may study, with the greatest certainty, the principal peculiarities of this art. They generally belong to a period when the arts flourished in Etruria, if not coeval with the complete independence of the nation, at least under a state of subjection, which had nothing oppressive. They are also wrought with more care, as their religious use would lead one to think. In fine, they alone are sufficient to prove how much the practice of the arts was spread throughout Etruria; and to what degree of skill the science of drawing in general, and the art of casting in particular, were carried by the artists of that country. They did not the less excel in all those usual appliances of the same art which the wants of a very advanced civilisation and the exigences of a very refined luxury would require. The Etruscans were the inventors of war-trumpets, and of several kinds of armour; they were famed for their candelabra of bronze, their vases of gold and silver, chased, and a monument

of their skill in this kind has come down to us ; one of the most curious, because it is connected, according to all appearance, with one of the most ancient periods of art, and is in itself an almost unique monument of ancient workmanship in silver. It is a *votive* chariot recently found near *Perugia*, covered with very fine plates of silver, sculptured in high relief ; one of the principal fragments, which represents two horses running with the riders, and a man thrown down or bent under the horses, has been published by Millingen, to whom it belonged ; the ornaments of the costume, as well as the harness of the horses, are small plates of silver-gilt, placed over and fixed on with rivets. It is, in a word, one of the primitive monuments of that polychromatic sculpture, or of many colours, executed sometimes with different metals, sometimes with a mixture of gold and ivory and precious stones, a kind of sculpture which was as pleasing to the genius of antiquity, as it seems repugnant to ours ; a taste for which the Etruscans had derived from the Greeks, or from the same source as the Greeks, and which, connected with the practice of painted and coloured sculpture, which is to be found throughout the entire ancient east, in ancient Greece, and even in modern Italy, constituted the principal branch of ancient art, the most curious, and the least known of all. The engraved gems also form among the Etruscan monuments a very interesting series with regard to the subjects they represent, and especially with regard to the style of the design.

These perhaps, among all the Etruscan monuments we possess, reach the remotest period of antiquity, and consequently exhibit, with the most exactness, Etruscan art in all its originality. These gems are cut in the form of a *Scarabæus* on the flat side of which is engraved with more or less depth, but always in intaglio, a subject generally heroic or mythological. These Etruscan Scarabæi differ in their form, and also in other ways, from the Egyptian Scarabæi, but it is not the less probable that their use was immediately derived from Egypt, through the commerce which the Etruscans had with the East, or by any other mode of communication, and this observation agrees with that I have already adverted to, concerning the high relative antiquity of these objects. We know that the Scarabæus was worn as a kind of talisman or amulet by the warriors ; it was, without doubt, for this purpose that this kind of object was in such common use among the

ancient Etruscans on account of the numbers of gladiators among them; and this is the reason also, why these Scarabæi, besides their form, which made them suited to this destination, present, for the most part, the representation of some of these Greek heroes — Tydeus, Hercules, Theseus, Peleus, Achilles, types of valour, the image of whom became, for these braves by profession, at once a model and a preservative. In naming these heroes, I have mentioned many of the most celebrated Etruscan Scarabæi, and which present in the highest degree all the characteristics of the Etruscan style. The most important of all these is, perhaps, the famous Scarabæus representing *five* of the seven chiefs against Thebes, Polynices, Adrastus, Amphiaræus, Parthenopæus, and Tydeus, with the name of each of them in its Etruscan form, in the characters of that language. This beautiful gem, with those of Tydeus, of Peleus, and Theseus, display the Etruscan style, with its most decided characteristics; namely, with those vigorous and robust forms, with the bones and muscles strongly marked, with those energetic movements, sometimes strained, with that science and display of drawing carried to excess, which belong to the Etruscan school of art, if not peculiarly, at least more particularly, than to the Greek school, where the same qualities do not seem to have been accompanied by the same faults, at least in the same degree; and where the imitation of nature, at first timid and simple, then learned and correct, never ceased to be true while it became scientific, and always knew how to link, by a privilege which belonged exclusively to it, simplicity with strength, and grace with everything. It now remains for me to speak of the Etruscan paintings, and especially of those which are on the vases in baked earth, which compose the most numerous and the most interesting class, perhaps, of all ancient monuments, if we except medals. But here, at the outset, I must establish an important distinction. When, at the beginning of the last century, the first discoveries of these *painted* vases attracted the attention of the learned, the domain of antiquity was filled with the most false ideas, and the most exaggerated prepossessions concerning Etruscan art in general. Everything which, in monuments of every kind, presented the appearance of a primitive style, and of a rude workmanship, was without distinction considered Etruscan. Without taking into consideration the places where these vases mostly

came from, from Magna Græcia and Sicily, countries occupied at an early period, and civilised by the Greeks; without taking into consideration the Greek inscriptions which the vases frequently bear; they were classed under the denomination of Etruscan vases, and such is, in everything, the tenacity of popular prejudices, such the authority of habit, even when the most devoid of sense and reason, that, even at the present, this false and common denomination has continued to be used, and we ourselves, unfortunate antiquarians as we are, are reduced to employ, in order to make ourselves understood, this expression which is offensive and repugnant to us. No, gentlemen, on such a subject, I cannot raise my voice too high; no, the vases which are called Etruscan, are not Etruscan; they are Greek, solely and purely Greek, under whatever view they may be considered. For they have issued from a Greek manufactory, and finally, they bear Greek inscriptions.

Already had Winckelmann, that man who cast over the entire domain of antiquity so penetrating and so just a glance, that man whose sagacity cannot be sufficiently admired, his genius sufficiently praised, nor his name sufficiently made known, commenced in that sphere of ideas, as in all others, a revolution which it has fallen to the lot of our age to see finally accomplished.

From the sole collection of the vases of the Vatican, Winckelmann had pronounced that these vases must be Greek; he entertained doubts alone with regard to those which were painted with black figures on a yellow ground, and, with a certain meagreness of forms, a certain rigidity of attitude and arrangement, seemed to betray an Etruscan taste and origin. In this Winckelmann was still in error, but this remnant of weakness, which even the intellect of a great man cannot prevent him from having for the prejudices of his age, that kind of tribute paid to human imperfection, did not diminish sought from the merit of the general ideas of Winckelmann. He had had one of those revelations which belong to genius alone, that the entire domain of antiquity is Greek, whether we consider it with regard to the ground-work of its ideas, or with regard to execution and style. Constantly under the inspiration, I would almost say, under the charm of this great thought, he followed out its application in all the branches of the science, on all the monuments of art; he ranged, as a great conqueror, the vast domain of antiquity,

restoring everywhere to the Greeks, what had been attributed through caprice or through error to the Romans as well as to the Etruscans, dethroning usurped opinions, re-instating legitimate authorities, establishing, in fine, art in all its rights, and Greece in all its influence and dominion. To return to the painted vases, the luminous views of Winckelmann developed, enlarged, and examined by Heyne, Lanzi, Millin, without speaking of a crowd of other learned men, who still live and enjoy their fame, have completely re-established and fixed the general opinion on this point of antiquity: these vases are universally recognised at the present day to be Greek. But there resulted from this, one of those revolutions to which the peaceable domain of archæology ought to be less exposed than any other; opinion has passed, from the excess which attributed all to the Etruscans, into the opposite which refuses them all; and after having considered as Etruscan all the Greek vases without exception, at the present day they have almost come to the conclusion to consider as Greek those which bear the most unquestionably an Etruscan character. It is from facts alone that correct judgment can be formed on this.

We cannot see why the Etruscans, whose taste was formed in the school of the Greeks, who had borrowed from Greece the elements of their arts, the models and subjects of their monuments, and who had at hand materials suited for the production of similar objects, should have prohibited themselves from making and painting vases, with the same means, and for the same uses. Ancient Etruria possessed that beautiful and pure clay of Arezzo, of Urbino, and of Faenza, which has given to modern Tuscany those manufactures of majolica and faenza, which rivalled in facility, freedom, and elegance of design, the manufacture of Greek vases as long as they were under the influence of Raphael and his school. Even in ancient times, some Etruscan vases of red colour, ornamented with animals and figures in relief, were placed in public estimation on a par with similar vases which were made at Samos. Lastly, very recently, there have been discovered in an Etruscan territory, near Bologna, the ancient Felsina, vases painted with black figures on red ground, exactly in the same style as the Greek vases of the ancient style, and bearing inscriptions in the Etruscan language and character, which allows no further doubt that this kind of

manufacture, originally from Greece, was also known and cultivated with success among the Etrurians. I add, that there is nothing more frequent than to find in Etruscan tombs, particularly in those of Corneto and Chiusi, painted vases with Greek subjects and in the Greek style, but unquestionably issuing from national manufactories. I myself possess one of these vases, which represents two facts in the history of Hercules, with black figures on a yellow ground. Other vases, not less curious, and hitherto still less known, are also to be frequently found in the Etruscan tombs of Corneto, Arezzo, and especially of Chiusi. These are vases of black clay, ornamented in their entire circumference with a frieze in bas-relief of figures of animals, or even of human figures, forming a kind of religious procession. On these bas-reliefs are figures, accessories, symbols, which seem to betray an Egyptian origin, which evince at least a great affinity of style and character between the Egyptian and Etruscan schools. For my part, I acknowledge that I consider them as directly produced under oriental influence, and belonging for the most part to that period, when the traditions of taste, style, creed, which the Etruscans had brought from Asia, were still maintained in all their primitive authority. The circumstance that these vases are found chiefly at Chiusi, which was, at the ancient period of the prosperity of the Etruscan nation, the centre of the power of that nation, seems to favour this conjecture which I now advance, and which can be confirmed only upon a careful examination and an attentive comparison of the objects in question.

Let us now speak of the paintings peculiarly Etruscan ; I mean those compositions, painted in different colours, which ornament most of the tombs of the ancient Etruscans. These paintings would deserve for this reason alone to be ranked among the number of the most curious remains which have come down to us of the arts of antiquity. As ornaments of the last abode of the dead, they excite a still deeper interest ; they show to what end, and with what intention, this serious and religious nation decorated their last asylum with consolatory representations, derived from the scenes of everyday life, or from religious creeds or public spectacles ; the view they entertained of death, sometimes with all its terrors, sometimes with all its hopes ; how the dogma of the immortality of the soul, that necessary and sublime dogma, was

written on all the ornaments of the tomb, as a kind of protest against death in the bosom of death itself. Nothing perhaps is more fitted to give us a high and touching idea of ancient civilisation, than to see with what care the tombs of this people were decorated, with how many sweet and smiling images, how many rare and 'precious objects they were filled. Those tombs which were not painted, those of Pæstum, Nola, Agrigentum, Syracuse, were adorned with beautiful Greek vases, which represent scenes of initiation or acts of heroism, or festivals, banquets, and domestic pleasures. To these were added instruments, jewels, arms, all that caused the happiness or the glory of a life, and which was thought could contribute to the amusement or to the consolation of another.

The tombs, which were painted, as the generality of Etruscan tombs were, according to a custom, also practised in Greece and at Rome, presented on all their sides representations of a similar kind, the passage of the soul to Elysium, funeral games, bacchic scenes, religious processions; only, in ancient Etruria, these kinds of representations bore the impress of the gloomy and stern genius of the people, while in Greece, the humane and brilliant character of refined civilisation was stamped on the very images of death, in order to soothe and soften them. These painted tombs have been discovered throughout all Etruria, and even in the Campagna of Rome, which was in ancient times an Etruscan territory. They have been found at Falari, Gubbio, Crotona, Perugia, Chiusi, Volterra, but especially in the environs of Corneto, a modern town near the ancient and celebrated Tarquinia. There the ancient tombs cover a space of about six miles long, by eight broad. They are not built on the surface, but cut in the rock itself, to the depth of twenty feet, sometimes with two stories. The plan of these sepulchral grottoes is generally square, surmounted with a pyramidal roof. Everything is painted in it, the sides as well as the roof. The subjects of these paintings, of those, at least, of which some copies have been preserved, or which can be still recognised on the spot,—for the greatest part has been damaged by time, but above all, by negligence and ignorance,—present scenes of the passage of souls to the other life, images sometimes of a soothing character, the more frequently terrible and formidable, of the fate which awaits them, funeral games, combats of every kind, sometimes banquets. There are also to be seen larvæ, winged genii,

phantoms, furies, real and symbolical figures, all representations relative to the doctrine of the Etruscans, in regard to the state of souls after death.

There is an interesting and faithful description of these Etruscan tombs in a letter written in 1760, by Pacciandi to Count Caylus. In May, 1827, three of these sepulchral grottoes were discovered, the paintings of which were found well preserved. I made all haste there, in spite of obstacles of every kind which were opposed to me : a burning season, an unhealthy climate, an absurd privilege, which strangers have succeeded by false reports in obtaining from the pontifical government. In spite of all these obstacles I was able to penetrate into the grottoes. I passed two days in examining the paintings, in describing the subjects, and in copying the inscriptions. I left them in a state of fever ; but I bore away with me a true and faithful image of them, accurate and certain information, with the assistance of which I have been able to communicate to the Academy and to the public the first account of these paintings, the most remarkable in every respect that we have hitherto possessed among those which these Etruscan tombs have preserved to us. These paintings belong to different periods of Etruscan art. In one alone of these grottoes, they bear an impress, a physiognomy peculiarly Etruscan. In the two others they manifestly present the influence of Grecian taste and ideas. The subjects painted in the grotto, which is decorated with the most care, present, in various groups, the different games, wrestling, boxing, races on foot, on horses, on chariots, which were practised in Greece, and which were all celebrated among the Etruscans, principally, as it seems, at the funerals of the rich, for similar representations have been discovered in a tomb at Chiusi. The costumes, the accessories, the vases, the instruments, all were Greek ; the style of the drawing, absolutely similar to that of the Greek vases of ancient manufacture, was marked with firmness, without dryness, and generally correct as well as free. The colours, which still shine in all their brilliancy, in all their first freshness, are not laid on with a brush, but applied in flat layers, on a coating of very fine stucco, with a very brilliant effect in the most beautiful of these grottoes. These colours are white, black, red, yellow, blue, green ; thus all the principal colours, from the mixture of which all the others could be formed, whence the inference may be drawn, that at the period,

whatever it may be, but certainly at a very ancient one, when these paintings were executed, the ancients were acquainted with, and had in use, all the elements necessary to attain perfection in the art, and that long before the periods assigned in Pliny, which I have already adverted to, some time since, in former lectures on the painting of the ancients, and which is found to be confirmed by those Etruscan paintings. The little I have said doubtless gives a great interest to these paintings, and if it could be proved, as I supposed at first, and as has been conjectured by a learned German, who addressed the Academy of Munich in regard to these paintings, that they belong to the period which followed immediately the establishment of the Corinthian Demaratus at Tarquinia, and the importation of the Greek arts into Etruria, we should then have one of the principal elements of the history of an art on which we as yet possess but the vague information furnished by Pliny, and only some paintings for decoration belonging, for the most, to a period of decline, to provincial countries, or at least to an inferior branch of the art. In bringing to a close this review of Etruscan art, an idea has struck me which I cannot refrain from communicating: art in this ancient nation presented nearly the same characteristics, and suffered nearly the same vicissitudes, as among the modern Tuscans. I know there has been much abuse made of these kind of parallels, which are for the most part but mere caprices used by writers for ornament. But here, in the comparison of Etruscan art and Tuscan art, there are so many analogies, so many similarities, that this parallel, should it fail in exactness and justness in some points, cannot but appear without some foundation, and at least without some interest in its aggregate. We have seen Etruscan art produced under forms of a meagreness, a dryness, a rigidity, which completely recall those of the old paintings of Simone di Siena, Giunta da Pisa, Cimabue of Florence, when taste began to fluctuate between the traditions of Byzantium, and the first attempts at a return to the imitation of nature.

At a later period, it was still for the dryness and hardness of style that the productions of the Etruscans were remarkable in the most ancient Scarabæi, in the bronzes and in the mirrors, as from Giotto to Dominico Ghirlandajo, to Andrea Verrochio, and even to Masaccio, the predominant character of the Florentine school was always a precision which degenerated into dryness; a care, a finish of details, carried to excess, and

a certain rigidity of style which frequently falls into meagreness. When at length Etruscan art reached its most perfect state, as we see it on some of the most beautiful engraved gems, and on urns of the most finished execution, it exhibits a display of anatomical science, an exaggerated energy of movement, an overcharged rigour of attitudes, a tension of all the muscles, an action of every part, a profound knowledge of the structure of the human body, a careful study of nature, too rarely joined to that choice of forms, to that search after the beautiful, to that sentiment of grace, without which art will ever be wanting in its principal merit, that of pleasing. Now does not Tuscan art display the same characteristics in the works of Michael Angelo, which unquestionably present the most striking, the most complete type, and so to speak, their very ideal? I mean, that science of drawing carried even to ostentation, that austerity which never sacrifices to the graces, those tortured attitudes, those abrupt and bold movements, that expression generally hard and energetic, that predilection for terrible and stern subjects; that haughtiness, that coarseness, that fire of style, all which strikes and astonishes in Michael Angelo, all which gives the idea of a power of hand, of a vigour of extraordinary conception, without ever producing the impression of that beauty which charms, of that sentiment which touches, and of that grace which enchants. Such is in fact the Florentine school, considered in regard to Michael Angelo; such must have been very nearly the school of the ancient Etruscans. And is it not a phenomenon deserving of observation, these coincidences of style and character between people so different, inhabitants of the same country, at periods so remote—this transmission of genius, of soul and taste, handed down through ages, under the same sky of Tuscany, from the artist who engraved the gem of Tydeus, or who decorated the tombs of Tarquinia, to the author of Moses and to the painter of the Capella Sistina?

SIXTH LECTURE.

Geographical glance at the history of Greek Art—Principal Epochs of this history—Sketch of a Homeric Archæology with regard to Art—First Epoch of Greek Art; stones and pillars of wood; formation of the Greek Hermes with a single head, then with a double head—Digression on the Hermaphrodites, derived from this primitive type, and on figures of a double nature—In what way these figures differ in the Egyptian system and in that of Greek Art—The Minotaur the sole exception known to the general principle of these representations, for what reason—Foreign influence exercised in Greek Art, how, at what period, and to what degree—Conclusion.

WE now enter upon the vast and brilliant domain of Greek art, in which every principle, every idea, every monument of the beautiful, the sole true end, and the sole genuine essence of art, are found collected in a system so closely linked in all its parts, so intimately in connection with all the other elements of social organisation, that it is impossible not to consider this art in its noblest idea, in its most extensive application as the exclusive possession, the original creation of Greek genius. Let us at first cast a glance on the historical and geographical situation of Greece, in regard to art, that is to say on the very theatre where art was exercised in its different periods, and in its different schools. The history of Greece presents three grand divisions of this nation, in which art was cultivated with almost equal success, but not precisely at the same periods: Greece properly so called; Asia Minor, with the neighbouring islands; Magna Græcia, or southern Italy, with Sicily, which was dependent on it. It is generally allowed that the birth, or at least the development of art, was earlier and more advanced in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and of Italy, than it was in Greece itself. But this opinion is rather based on bold presumption than on authenticated facts. One thing is certain, that accurate information is wanting on the political and moral situation of Greece, during a series of many centuries, from the return of the Heracleidæ, to the first Olympiads, that is, from the eleventh to the seventh century before our æra. During all this space of time, on which we possess only rare, incomplete, and contradictory historic data,

it seems that Greece, inwardly torn by factions, given up to continual changes of domination or government, could not assume a tranquil position nor a determinate form, and consequently art could not strike deep roots nor acquire a regular development, on a soil so agitated, and changeable as it was. One essential fact takes the lead in the entire aggregate of accounts which have come down to us with regard to this historic period, namely, the great number of colonies which issued from Greece at periods very near one another, and which occupied all the coasts of Asia Minor, and those of southern Italy with Sicily, and the islands of the Archipelago. We must infer from this, that Greece was then in a state of continual crisis, and of laborious birth, which did not allow the arts, friends of advancement, but children of peace, to increase and to prosper in the midst of these political convulsions. On the contrary, all these circumstances became favourable to the culture of the arts in these colonies, which, for the most part, established on a new and fertile soil with new and free institutions, carried no factions among them, and found few enemies around them. These were the most frequently entire parties, vanquished in a political crisis, which exiled themselves in a mass; and which thus bore under foreign skies, with the language and manners of their native land, an unanimity of will, of opinions, of principles, which must have procured for those rising republics a rapid progress. The most frequently also, they came in contact, in the neighbourhood of the places where they went to establish themselves, but with nations feeble in number, inferior in civilisation, and consequently incapable of struggling long with them, and of disputing with them the possession of the soil, and the empire of the sea. For we see the Greek confederate states of Asia Minor—the Æolians, the Dorians, the Ionians, the last especially, Samos, and Miletus at their head, and the republics of Magna Græcia and Sicily, particularly Posidonia, Sybaris, Tarentum, Crotona, Syracuse, Agrigentum, attaining at an early period, and rapidly raising themselves to a high degree of prosperity, embracing a considerable commerce, becoming maritime powers, while Greece itself, torn by intestine factions, wasted her resources on useless agitations. Nevertheless Greece, though exhausted by her colonies and her dissensions, could not remain a total stranger to the movement which took place round her. It was on her soil that

had been deposited the first germ of the arts of imitation; it was also on her soil that were formed the first national schools on record in history. Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, Epidaurus, Ægina, but especially Athens, the genuine instructress of the human race, from the earliest period, made their name and influence celebrated by useful discoveries and celebrated works. Such is the hasty glance of the geography of Greek art, the elements of which, collected by Herder, Heyne, Heeren, O. Muller, yet await a deeper and more profound examination. As to the chronology of art, the most knotty and the most difficult portion of its history considered in its details, at the present day, it has been generally agreed to fix three principal epochs, which embrace the entire development of Greek art; and these epochs, connected with the very properties of this art, are those of the ancient style, the grand and beautiful style, the graceful style, periods which can be historically determined in the following manner; from the birth of the art to Phidias for the first, from Phidias to Praxiteles for the second, from Praxiteles to Lysippus and to Apelles for the third. In this classification of the art, different from that which Winckelmann has established, are not included the monuments of art produced at the court of the successors of Alexander, and at Rome under the emperors, that is to say, almost all the monuments we possess.

For in fact these monuments, whatever merit they may possess in our eyes, whatever may be their number, and the space of time they embrace, do not constitute an epoch of art, as they present nothing new or original in style, and because they present nothing more than repetitions, memorials, or copies, more or less estimable, of works of an anterior period, and of an order probably more elevated. Still less is there any reference to the Romans where there is any question of the periods of art fixed according to the characters of style. The Romans never possessed, not only a style which was their own, but not even artists who belonged to them. They never knew, never cultivated art, but by foreign hands, first by the Etruscans, then by the Greeks. With regard to art they were still more incapable, or less fortunate, than with regard to literature, which, though almost entirely derived from a Grecian source, nevertheless produced, at Rome, some original talents. But art, as it was practised to its very last moments, remained always in Rome, Greek in

character and style, even in the very artists themselves. Rome, with its political power, with all its boundless fame, takes its place in the history of art but as the depository of the treasures of Greece, and at farthest as the heir of its teachings. At first it was only able to pillage the works of art, then to copy them, at a still later period only to travesty them; it produced many a Verres, but not one artist. The first period of art, or that of the ancient style as we have fixed it, from the very birth of art to Phidias, may, and ought to be, subdivided into two different periods, one of which embraces all those first efforts, all those rude essays of an art still in its cradle, which have but a very distant connection with art properly so called, which take a place in its history but as genealogical titles, while the second includes the continuation and development of these works produced under a more happy inspiration, and were the results of more skilful studies and processes. The first would extend from the age of Homer to that of Cræsus, and of Polycrates; the second from the latter period, to that of the war with the Persians.

It would be the subject matter for one of the most interesting books one could write, to extract from the poems of Homer the complete picture of Greek civilisation as it existed at the age of their author. Not that there are wanting many works on this subject, but a work is still wanting which would present its aggregate. The book of Homer may be considered, laying out of the question its great poetic merit, as a kind of encyclopedia of the twelfth century before our era, and art does not doubtless occupy the least space in this vast and interesting picture of a social organisation so simple and already so advanced. In saying art, I mean here all its branches, architecture, sculpture, and painting, including many mechanical arts which are connected with them. Architecture would claim in this picture an important part from the curious and detailed description of the palace of Alcinous and that of Ulysses; from the descriptions of the walls and edifices of Pergamos, and of the camp of the Greeks. Sculpture in its turn would claim its space from the number of works in wood, in metal, and in ivory, many of which, from the hand of Vulcan, already testify to a kind of perfection in these mechanical works; and especially the shield of Achilles, the sole description of which forms perhaps the most curious and the most complete, as well as the most ancient document of the history

of the arts of Greece. The Trojan horse would also have a place in the Homeric delineation of the works of primitive sculpture, at once as a proof of a mechanical art far advanced, and of that taste for gigantic monuments which, at these first periods of civilisation, was the characteristic of all that was noble and grand. Painting, the existence and practice of which at the time of Homer it has been vainly in my opinion endeavoured to deny, would obtain its share, which has been hitherto denied to it, in consequence of its alliance with sculpture, as may be seen, among other examples, from the shield of Achilles, on which different metals, differently coloured, produced, by their mixture, a series of pictures at once painted and sculptured. Those beautiful tapestries, worked by the hands of Helen and of Andromache, in which the wool, shaded in different colours, imitated so many objects to the life, would not be a less direct, or less positive proof of the antiquity of an art, of which they could not have made at the time of Homer such general use, without its being cultivated with a kind of success. I shall rapidly point out here some of the principal features of which this kind of Homeric archæology might be composed, which I have neither leisure nor the intention to trace at the present moment, but it is a subject which I hope will engage your attention. The interest which the study of antiquity generally excites, for, in initiating us into the knowledge of a period which no longer exists, it extends our existence into a past age more or less remote from us,—it increases, so to speak, our being, by all the space it adds to that in which we live; this interest increases still more, for the same reason, in proportion as we seek to penetrate to the very cradle of the arts, to the very source of those institutions so long destroyed. If we could have at the same time collected before us the Jupiter of Olympia, and the first idol which was brought into or produced in Greece, if we could compare the work of Dædalus and that of Phidias, with what interest, with what emotion would we pass from one to the other, to measure, if it were possible, all the space which the human mind passed over, between the birth and the final perfection of the art, to calculate how many centuries it required, how many efforts it had cost to attain at last from so rude an attempt, so admirable a result, a sight so instructing and so interesting for so many reasons, which in the second century of our era was still presented to Pausanias at every step of his

journey, we can never entertain the hope of ever enjoying, even though we should dig on every spot of land, and to every depth of the soil of Greece which has as yet been turned up only by the plough, and by the barbarous rifler. Let us, however, attempt to supply the absence of monuments by historical information, which must take its place. Let us try to ascend to the cradle of art, by availing ourselves of all the traditions which are connected with it. We shall find on our path some curious facts, and for want of contemporaneous monuments, some memorials of another age, which take their place in imitating them. The first idols of Greece were, as we have already said, stones which were supposed to have fallen from heaven, and one can easily conceive what value a similar belief must have bestowed on those idols. The experience of our age has proved that what was among the ancients a superstitious opinion, could have a real foundation; and this is not the only case in which the facts of fable have been finally restored to the domain of science. These pretended stones, fallen from heaven, revered for this reason rather as manifestations, doubtless, than as images of the deity, were in fact real *aerolites*. Such was the Cupid of Thespiae, which was always worshipped under this primitive form even at the period in which art, brought to perfection by genius, displayed, in the very same sanctuary, one of the masterpieces of Praxiteles. Next to these rude stones were to be remarked, for the same merit of antiquity, blocks of wood coarsely fashioned, genuine fetiches, from which the worship of the ancient Pelasgi might be considered analogous to that of the Samoids, or of any other savage people. One of the most venerated of these idols was the Juno of Argos; it was made of the trunk of a wild pear-tree, and was of moderate size. Carried by Pirasus, son of Argus, to Tyrinth, it had been, at the time of the destruction of that town by the Argives, carried into its temple at Argos. One may judge from this anecdote of the high antiquity of this statue, of the prodigious value which was attached to it. And Pausanias saw it still receiving, at the second period of our era, the homage of Greece, by the side of the Juno of Polycletus, a Colossus of ivory and gold, a masterpiece of art and of the author. Thus these stones and pillars of wood, square or round, were the first gods of Greece, and these rude monuments of an art in its infancy were preserved during nearly fifteen centuries, by the

side of the wonders of that art, objects of an equal veneration, but not doubtless for the same reason.

It is probable that, to all the superstitious motives which rendered these statues the objects of such veneration, was also added, among the Greeks, a feeling of pleasure and national vanity, when beholding the first attempt of the art, placed near one of its master-pieces, they thus embraced at a single glance the immense space they had gone over in the domain of imitation. They thus enjoyed their genius in the presence of objects which marked their infancy, they took a pride in their capabilities, in those very comparisons which recalled their primitive imperfections ; and indeed these monuments of rudeness were, in fact, titles of glory for Greece, or, as we may say, the archives of nobility. Up to this period we do not perceive any trace, either direct or indirect, of any foreign influence. If any one should be willing to admit, that this influence was exercised at the first period of art, the following are, probably, the proofs which might be adduced to prove whence it came, and in what manner it was exercised. The Phœnicians who had founded banks in some of the isles of Greece, and on several parts of the coast which they deemed favourable for establishments of this kind, raised, at the entrance of their factories, posts or columns to which they attached the idea of their national god, Thoth, or Theuth, adding to it the Phallus, as an universal symbol of nature ; from these posts or pillars, with the appendage just mentioned, resulted directly the form of the *Hermes* ; and the image itself of the god who bore this name among the Greeks, and who was called *Mercury* among the Romans.

The Greeks, with that instinct of imitation already awakened among them, placed a head on this pillar, and the Greek *Hermes* was completed by this single addition, probably made on the Attic territory, to the posts which Phœnician hands had erected. Athens, in fact, more than any other town in Greece, was filled with this sort of idols, the worship of which seemed to have for her a peculiar attraction, the form of which ought, consequently, to be linked with its national traditions. It is well known that under the *Peisistratidæ* the *Hermes* became the principal element of the embellishments for which Athens was indebted to those chiefs so famed for their learning and skill, to so great an extent that it was called the City of the *Hermes* ; and such was the abundance of figures of that kind

which were constantly produced there, that the *word* Hermoglyph (sculptor of Hermes), was a long time the sole word employed at Athens to indicate every kind of sculptor. The form of Hermes, once found, did not remain exclusively peculiar to the deity whose image it had been at first. All the gods, principally that crowd of local deities, of private genii, to whom distinct names could be with difficulty assigned at that period, and still more difficult to represent them under different forms; all the gods, I repeat, were represented under the common form. In proportion as religious ideas became more extended, such signs were represented under a more complicated form, and were even doubled, that is to say, two heads were placed on the same pedestal. This was also very probably an Attic invention; for these double heads, the primitive type of Janus, are to be found on the coins of Athens and its colonies. They were originally a head of a man and a head of a woman placed together, that is, the two primitive principles, the two sexes, the two elements of all things, the sun and the moon, or Dsan and Dsana, old Greek words, from which the Romans made Janus and Diana; these two heads of different sexes are to be seen on the medals of Tenedos. At a later period, when these simple and primitive ideas began to change, and to lose themselves, the ancients restricted themselves to the representation of two similar heads, generally male, modifying and varying their characteristics, according to the necessities of their worship, of the progress of religion, and the resources of art. It was thus that the Janus of the Romans was produced; it was thus that in Greece itself there were Hermathenes, Hermeracles, Hermerotes, that is to say double Hermes of Mercury and Minerva, of Mercury and Hercules, of Mercury and Love: and it is very probable that from the same combination proceeded the Hermaphrodites, or Hermes of Mercury and Venus, a type which afterwards became in Grecian art one of the subjects in which, perhaps, are conspicuous, in the highest degree, the rare qualities which distinguish it, and perhaps the one beyond all which would lead us most to appreciate its genius. When, in fact, one reflects on the prodigious interval which exists between the symbolical manner of representing the union of two natures, and the blending of two sexes by the means of two heads placed together on a single pillar, and that other manner, which we see practised at a later period, of blending in a same

body, of amalgamating in a same physiognomy, the different properties, the distinct characteristics of man and of woman, one can recognise from this single feature, and embrace at a single glance, the immense space which Greek art passed over in the career of imitation; one can appreciate at the same time all that may be attributed to a foreign influence, and all that it owes to its own genius.

The primitive Hermes with its double head and its pillar was nothing more, in fact, than a statue in the Egyptian style, that is to say, an idea under a material form, a real hieroglyphic; but the Greek Hermaphrodite, in which the man and the woman are so admirably expressed and so exquisitely blended in all their parts, that they cannot in any way be separated or distinguished one from the other, in which the ideal being which results from the blending of the two sexes, presents however all the appearance of a real being, joined to all the charm of truth, to all the illusion of nature, who would venture to maintain that such a figure was derived from such a hieroglyphic? And if the one is purely Egyptian, as the other is unquestionably Greek, who could further believe that Greek art was indebted to Egyptian art for anything but the germ of an idea which ever remained devoid of imitation on its own soil, and became in Greece the very miracle of imitation.

I ought not to leave this curious subject I have touched on, without indicating another connection which naturally finds its place here, and which is not the less suited to throw a light on the nature of Greek art, and on its principles so essentially different from those of Egyptian art. I mean those statues of a double nature, human and animal, the combination of which, varied to a boundless infinity, we have already seen have been the principal element of Egyptian art, and the representation of which was not unknown to Greek art. The Giants, the Harpies, Scylla, the Syrens, Sphinxes, Centaurs, Pan, are well-known monsters, composed of a man or of a woman, with the extremities of serpents, birds, or of quadrupeds, without speaking of some combinations of the same kind, of several animals forming one, such as Pegasus, the Griffin, the Chimæra. But there is between these representations, so apparently similar in intention and design, in reality a very remarkable difference: in the Egyptian works, the head of an animal is always placed on a human body, which is characteristic of a symbolical image, while, quite the contrary,

on the productions of Greek art a human head is placed on the body of an animal which constitutes the same image. It is then the *man*, that is to say, what there is most noble in creation represented by the *head*, also the most noble, and the most difficult object of imitation, which predominates in these combinations, so as not to disgust by excessive hideousness, and even to produce by the means of a number of gradations of shades of infinite variety and of exquisite delicacy,—to produce, I repeat, in those multiplied and fantastic beings, the appearance of simple and real beings endowed with all the organs of intelligence and of life. For example, in those statues of Pan, with a human head and the body, and the legs and feet of a goat, many examples of which have come down to us, and which were one of the most ancient, as well as the most common subjects of Greek art. By how many delicate lines, at the same time by what clearly marked forms, is the man confounded with the beast, even to the very head, where independently of the horns on the forehead, of the glands on the neck, of the pointed ears which belong to the animal, all the other features more or less participate in the two natures; where the form of the eye, with shaggy eyebrows over it, the nose with wide nostrils, the meagre and elongated face, the mouth which opens as if to bleat, the projecting chin with a goat's beard, everything bespeaks the goat, without almost taking away from the nature of the man, and thus produces a being so consistent in every point, so natural and so true, that not only its double nature does not appear a hideous deformity, as in the Egyptian statues, but does not even awaken in us the idea of a physical impossibility, nor the shadow of a painful sensation. I could adduce many other proofs of this, and the same fact would always result from them; namely, that the Greeks, by always placing the head of the man on the representations of double beings, and consequently by allowing the human nature to predominate in the blending of the two natures, differently from the Egyptians who reversed the two images by placing the animal above and the man below, introduced the principle of imitation even in the creation of monsters, and thus produced the illusion of reality even in the domain of fiction. I know but one single exception to this principle, which is, in the conformation of the Minotaur, which is always represented on the most ancient works of Greek art, as on the celebrated medal of Gnossus in the King's cabinet, and on

the Greek vases, as well as on the more recent, as in the beautiful painting of Herculaneum, and the group of the villa Albani, with a head of a bull and a human body, that is to say, that it is entirely conceived in accordance with the Egyptian system.

But the Minotaur is, as the learned Böttiger has recently demonstrated, a Phœnician fable, derived from the same symbolic sources whence Egyptian art derived the type of its images; and this truth, which the celebrated antiquary has established by arguments entirely unconnected with the present subject, receives an additional confirmation from the opposition which exists between this unique figure of the Minotaur thus conceived, and the entire system of the Hellenic representations. Let us return to the point from whence this digression made us diverge, and resume the history of Greek art, at the period when we left off. I mean at that in which this art might have undergone, in the configuration of its imperfect works, some foreign influence. We have seen it adding, by Athenian hands, a human head, with the Phallus, the Phœnician symbol of nature, to the cippus or to the column, which was the first object which had been erected not to the image, but in honour of the deity, and we have seen that the primitive Hermes was the result of this combination. At this very period, statues of Egyptian form and origin, for the most part executed in wood, were brought into Greece by those same adventurers who came to establish themselves there, and who indeed must have come from Egypt, though it does not necessarily follow from this, that they were Egyptians themselves; I here allude to Cecrops and Danaus. Pausanias, indeed, assures us, in terms too positive to admit of a possibility of doubt, that the most ancient statues which still existed in his time in Greece, were of wood, and what is more, that they were Egyptian.

In support of this he mentions the Lycian Apollo of Argos, which had been consecrated by Danaus; farther on he speaks of an idol of Hermes, or Mercury, which came from Hyperbœa, and in another part of his work he mentions another Hermes, of wood, which was supposed to be an offering of Cecrops. These statues had, therefore, been brought into Greece by foreign Colonies; they were of wood: they had the form of Hermes; that is, the form of a pillar, surmounted with a human bust without any indication of feet and of hands.

And this is what the same Pausanias says elsewhere, explicitly, when he attributes to the Athenians the merit of having among all the Greeks consecrated truncated Hermes (*ἀκώλους Ἑρμῆς*) that is to say, Hermes without arms or legs. Now, on remarking those characteristic features, how can anyone refrain from considering these statues of wood in the form of mummies, with the arms attached to the body, so much so as to be scarcely distinguishable one from the other, and with the feet joined in a similar manner so as to form a kind of plinth or base, but as statues most manifestly of Egyptian workmanship and origin, of which we possess thousands of specimens, and which appear to have been executed in Egypt during a long series of centuries with that perseverance and tenacity, the causes and results of which we have already endeavoured to explain and appreciate? We must therefore admit as an established fact that the Greeks, particularly those of Attica and of Argolis, received from Phœnician merchants, or others who established themselves among them during the first period of Hellenic civilisation, some of those idols wrought in the Egyptian style, in cedar, sycamore, or ebony. We shall add that the Diana of Ephesus, under its primitive form, which was exactly that of a mummy, was one of those idols, and that it always remained in conformity with this Oriental type. The Diana of Perga, the Juno of Samos, as we find them represented in medals, belong to the same system, and are to be assigned to the same period. Only the arms of this kind of statues, as they are to be seen separated from the body of the idol, and supported by pieces of metal, indicate a later addition, and prove by this very addition of connecting parts which did not form a part of the block or pillar, since they had need of partial support, that these were in fact parts foreign to the primitive conception of the idol. Lastly, we will presume that the Egyptian statues were painted, as in reality are the greater number of the monuments of the same kind which we possess in almost every material, and we shall find, in this coarse admixture of painting and of sculpture, both so imperfect, the first principle of that taste of the Greeks for polychromatic sculpture, in which art afterwards produced such wonders. Thus then those rude statues, coarsely fashioned, coarsely coloured, in which the confusion and imperfection of this double art are such, that the eye fluctuates undecided between the outlines of the sculptor and the colouring of the

painter; these idols, which do not in any way partake of the genius of the arts, for they tend to assimilate their principles, to confound their effects; these monuments in fine of a rude instinct, and of a mechanical art in its infancy, present themselves at the very entrance of the domain of art, as the precursors, and if one may so speak, as the ancestors of those statues and colossi of gold and ivory, in which, at the other extremity of its career the same art had equalled, by the magnificence and beauty of its productions, *the majesty of the Gods*. But this prodigy was the work of time, of liberty and of genius: it was brought about on Grecian soil, and by Grecian hands; it was the work, the property, the eternal title of glory of Greece. Egypt can only lay claim to the germ which it could not render fruitful itself, to the rude sketch which it could not terminate, to the model from which it derived no advantage. To say all in a word, Egypt claims as her own, in the history of art, the type and the form of her mummies: all the rest, from this beginning to the Jupiter Olympius of Phidias, belongs exclusively to Greece, which subject we now intend to enter upon. But we have as yet only reached the age of Dædalus, and we must make a short pause, before entering the vast space we have to go over. We shall, therefore, stop here and leave to our next lecture the continuation of this subject.

SEVENTH LECTURE.

School of Dædalus—Statues of wood called Dædalean, first productions of Greek Art—Statues dressed in real drapery—Causes and proofs of this custom—Taste for Polychromatic Sculpture derived from the same principle—Digression on an analogous practice to be found in the Florentine School at the period of the revival of Art—Proofs of the sculpture of several materials, or of several colours derived from Ancient Monuments—Of Dædalus and of his history—What is to be understood under the name of this personage, and in the narrative of his travels—Characteristics peculiar to Works executed in his School—Conclusion.

THE history of art has, like every other history, its fabulous origin, its poetic ages, its uncertain genealogies. The cradle of all our knowledge, like that of all the great families which performed a conspicuous part on the stage of the world, is covered with a mysterious obscurity, and the truth itself is disguised under the veil, and with the colours of fable; but fable, in its turn, is useful in confirming the existence of the facts it enshrouds, and it is thus that an attempt may be made to verify and restore, one by the other, the mythology of art and its history. The age of Dædalus, the works of his which are mentioned in history, the inventions which have been attributed to him, are one of those historical problems which the apparently learned credulity of one age, and which the seemingly philosophical scepticism of another age, have in turns solved in opposite senses, in an equally light manner, and with equal insufficiency. While endeavouring to see in it nothing but pure history or pure fable, the true mode was equally departed from, for in fact there was a mixture of one and of the other, which it was necessary to endeavour to distinguish. Far anterior to the period in which Athenian tradition placed the age of Dædalus—that is, three generations before the siege of Troy, or about thirteen centuries before our era, certain statues of wood were in general use, and were widely extended in Greece. These statues, which were dressed in real drapery, in order to conceal the imperfection of the form, or which were painted in different colours, in order to bear the semblance of these garments and of these forms, were called Dædala, a generic word which remained in the language,

to distinguish every kind of thing, and especially *every work of art ingeniously wrought*. We have on this point a clear and positive testimony of Pausanias, which will not allow us to doubt of either the existence of these wooden statues covered with drapery, or their antiquity with regard to Dædalus, nor their special denomination at the very period of which we are speaking. We can even go farther. Based on this testimony of Pausanias, and on the facts which confirm it, we can form very nearly a just idea of the manner in which these Dædalean statues, more ancient than Dædalus himself—kinds of lay-figures draped—were conceived and wrought. There are frequently to be found on the Greek vases of ancient style, small idols of several deities, among others, of Pallas, of Diana Taurica, of Venus Chrysè, which seem to be exact imitations of the most ancient statues consecrated to those deities. Now these statues, under a human form rudely imitated, with the attributes or the arms they bear, and the dresses of real drapery which cover them from head to foot, faithfully represent to us, according to all appearance, the state of the art anterior to Dædalus, and show what were the Dædalean statues before the period, whatever it may be, in which this personage and his school flourished. This custom of dressing statues in real draperies of moveable clothes, claims a few moments attention, not as a simple singularity of taste, but as one of the most curious inspirations of the genius of antiquity. That these means of producing a kind of illusion derived from the rudest instinct existed in Greece, as they existed in Egypt, as they exist almost everywhere, among nations in their infancy, or for that portion of the people which will ever remain children, will be readily admitted, though we should be unable to adduce positive testimonies; and it is, moreover, a fact, proofs and examples of which have been collected by an illustrious antiquary, in regard to Greece, with a diffuseness which exempts me from dwelling on the point. But that this same custom, derived from the same principle, and further authorised by long use, should be perpetuated in Greece at the most flourishing periods of the art, and applied to its most celebrated productions, is certainly a matter which will be a cause of wonder to us, in particular, who have such different ideas on that point. Now it is also a fact which does not admit of the least doubt, that the custom of dressing statues in real drapery was continued to almost all the periods of art, though its use,

probably, became more and more rare and restricted. The testimonies of ancient authors cannot be interpreted otherwise, who say that the gods and goddesses had, like the generality of wealthy persons, *women charged with their toilet*, and who assure us, that there was a particular class of priests, whose special function it was *to dress and undress the divine statues*. There is a well-known anecdote, which alone can stand for a whole series of facts, and that, too, at the most beautiful period of Greek art; it is the story of Dionysius, who, considering the mantle of gold with which the Jupiter Olympius of Syracuse was covered, too heavy for summer, and too cold for winter, thought proper to replace it by a woollen mantle, as being better suited to the different temperature of these two seasons. Many statues, of as rich a composition as the one just mentioned, the number of which seems to have been considerable in ancient Greece, must without doubt more than once have found themselves in a similar predicament. Such would have been, as Thucydides himself has remarked, the fate of the famous Minerva of the Parthenon, a colossus of gold and ivory, if the necessities of war should have compelled the use of the gold with which the drapery of this statue was composed; and without doubt, it would be natural and legitimate, that this people, who in their prosperity employed their treasures in ornamenting the gods, should have recourse to the same gods to assist them in unforeseen necessities; for thus the sanctuary became in such an emergency subsidiary to the public treasure, and religion was made auxiliary to the exchequer. At other times it was in order to supply the deficiency caused by the rudeness of the material or the imperfection of the statue, that use was made of this expedient; as we understand, among other examples, from that statue of Lucina, the work of Demophoon, the head and extremities of which were of pentelic marble, while the body, in wood, was covered with a slight drapery. Such were the statues of Bacchus, of Ceres, of Proserpine, which Pausanias saw in a Nymphæum between Sicyon and Phliontum, statues the head of which alone was visible, and the rest was so concealed under a mass of drapery, that the inquisitive traveller could not discover of what material it was made. Economy, as well as opulence, found there an equal advantage in this practice, which exhibited religion in all its pomp, or in all its primitive simplicity—two states, which produce, however different in themselves, almost the same effect on the

Constantinople by the French and Venetian Crusaders in 1204, when so many beautiful works of Greek art, the master-pieces of Myron, of Phidias, of Lysippus, which still existed, were destroyed or melted down for the basest motives, and for the vilest purposes. Among these bronzes of Herculaneum there are many which present, in their inlaying in silver, a striking example of the use of polychromatic sculpture for the most common purposes, and in the smallest details. Almost all the figures, or the instruments and vases in bronze, exhibit, in fact, either some parts, or some ornaments, wrought in silver, which proceed from the same principle, and which depend on the same taste. But what is most deserving of remark is, that we find in the sculpture of the revival of the arts, principally in the Florentine school, the mother of all the others, an analogous taste and practice, the frequent use of bronze, the custom of colouring and of mixing metals, of blending different substances in the works of statuary, all certainly derived from maxims and from processes purely Greek, by an uninterrupted tradition through the long and dark period of the middle ages. The numerous testimonies of this ancient taste which modern Tuscany presents, are doubtless not unknown to any one in any way versed in the history of art. It would not be perhaps from our purpose, if we should mention here the principal of them, in order to show under how many forms, and how skilfully, it had been practised; how a taste, which has become so foreign to our habits, and so contrary to our present principles, has been transmitted from the ancients to the moderns, and how this taste, which appears at the present day so odd and fantastic, was for a long time the prevailing taste in art. The mixture of different materials in order to set off the different mouldings in architecture, or simply to ornament them; this mixture, inherited from the Greeks, is conspicuous in the highest degree in a single square at Florence, in the reunion of three edifices, the dome, the baptistery, and the wonderful Campanile, the work of Giotto, and the production of the fourteenth century; and is also to be found at Pisa, in a similar reunion of three similar edifices; it is also to be seen at Sienna, in the single cathedral of that town. Nothing, too, is more frequent in the works of statuary of the same country and of the same age, than parts painted or gilt on similar materials, such as marble or bronze; examples are innumerable even in our own country; there are many who can still recollect

having seen the sculptures of several of our gothic cathedrals, and among others Notre Dame, almost entirely painted and gilt. The mixture of the two arts by the means of stones differently coloured, which produce a kind of *painting in marble*, is also a branch of Tuscan art, of which the pavement of the Cathedral of Sienna presents an admirable specimen. The paintings produced by the process of tarsia by the means of wood of different colours, sometimes with parts in relief, or with inlaying in metal, also present a kind of mechanical art, which obtained in Tuscany the rank of genuine art, and which has made cabinet-work a branch of sculpture; a mechanical art, moreover, completely analogous to that practised by the ancients for the purpose of ornamenting either with light inlaid leaves, *crustas*, or with parts laid on in relief, *emblemata*, all kinds of vases, of furniture, even statues; and the famous Isiac table, with its silver figures inlaid in a table of bronze, may be compared, according to this view, to the modern tarsia, as the front of St. Miniato, near Florence, can give an idea of this mixture of different marble, used in compartments to form all kinds of decorations, which the Romans in Pliny's time had so much abused according to the testimony of that writer. The art of colouring, of inlaying metals, which was cultivated with so much success by the Florentine goldsmiths, such as Benvenuto Cellini; that of painting clay with enamel, and of linking, in this manner, as intimately as possible, sculpture and painting; this art, which produced, under the hand of Luca della Robbia such beautiful works, and which sometimes in so happy a manner allied itself with architecture in order to decorate the principal parts of edifices, such as the friezes, and even the entire façades of churches, as can be observed, among other examples, on a beautiful church of Perugia: this art, so manifestly linked with the habitual taste of the ancients for polychromatic sculpture, and for coloured architecture, prevailed simultaneously with other arts of the same kind which I have just pointed out, so as to form a complete system, a vast aggregate of works, produced under the same influence, impressed with the same taste, executed with the same talent, which have made Tuscan art the principal phenomenon of modern genius, and the only one which can be compared, under almost every view, and almost with equal advantage, to the wonders of ancient genius. Now, all these works, which I have rapidly glanced over, were executed at a period which has been

called that of the revival of the arts, which extends from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century; they are all, or nearly all, included between Giotto and Michael Angelo. At this period, the discoveries of ancient marbles had had on the development of art, and on the direction of taste no influence, or, at least, very slight. These monuments were as yet so rare, and generally so ill appreciated, that even Michael Angelo allowed the legs of the Farnese Hercules to remain, which had been restored by his pupil Della Porta, after the ancient legs had been found; and when Michael Angelo wanted to restore in his turn some ancient statues, as he did to the statue called the Dying Gladiator, or when he attempted to produce from his own invention a statue of an ancient personage, as in his Bacchus of the Florentine Gallery, one can but too clearly perceive to what degree this great man, and still more his contemporaries and his pupils, were as yet but little imbued with the sentiment of ancient statuary.

The works of this art then known, and which consisted for the most part but of statues or bassi-relievi in marble, could not, up to this period have exercised almost any influence on the formation of taste; and consequently the numerous proofs I have given of this taste for polychromatic sculpture, so general in Tuscany at the revival of the art, depend on more ancient influences, and are connected by uninterrupted traditions, with the practice and principles of Greek art. But in proportion as these ancient monuments in marble became more numerous, in proportion as they were better known and more appreciated, an insensible change took place in the ideas of the age, and finally a complete revolution, in consequence of this exclusive study and assiduous contemplation. This was then carried so far that it was deemed impossible to conceive and admit any other kind of sculpture than sculpture in marble, because in reality it was in this material that the most beautiful works of ancient art that we are acquainted with have been executed, and it was thus was formed this general prepossession in favour of statuary in marble, and this prejudice against polychromatic sculpture which obstinately resists every proof, every example, which can be produced of a different taste in Greek antiquity as well as in modern Tuscany. However, there would have been required but a little more attention, or a little less prepossession, in order to discover, even in the works of statuary in marble, which have come down to us from

the ancients, evident and palpable proofs of the prevailing taste of which I have spoken. It is at the present day confirmed by the works of statuary which were employed in the monuments of architecture, from the example of two of the most beautiful edifices which remain of ancient art, the Temple of Minerva and that of Theseus at Athens, which still preserve manifest traces of the application of colours which were laid on the sculptures in basso-relievo of these two temples. A similar proof has resulted from the discovery of those curious bassi-relievi of Selinantum, which, having suffered less from the injury of the weather, also present this peculiarity in the most manifest manner. It has been in my power to see confirmed at Agrigentum on some fragments discovered by Mr. Hittorff, the primitive application of colour which had been used on the sculptures belonging to the decorations of these edifices. It will ever be considered an authenticated and indisputable fact, that at the most beautiful period of Greek art, the edifices of the first order were adorned with sculptures, if not painted in all the extent of the word, at least coloured, so as to render prominent some architectural parts, and to make other parts stand out conspicuous, to produce, in fine, by a happy mixture of the effects of colour and of form, an impression of richness, of brilliancy, and of variety, far superior, in our opinion, to that which results from the use of a single material, naturally cold and monotonous. But it is in the works of statuary made to remain isolated as statues, that this practice of the ancients has been exhibited to us in the least equivocal manner, however unwilling we may be to recognise it. On this point many testimonies, and many allusions, are to be frequently met with in their writings; but what is more decisive, there are monuments which prove this almost universal custom. I shall not mention those charming little figures in terra-cotta of pure Greek workmanship, which are found by hundreds in Sicily and in Greece, and so few of which are as yet in our collections; figures which present all the details of the dress and toilet of the women, with a variety and with a display of colour of which we can form no idea; I shall not mention these, I say, because the proportion and the nature itself of these statues does not admit of considering them as productions of the severe and simple style. Neither shall I mention other small statues of the same kind, employed in the decoration of the interior of buildings, such as the

Atlantes of the Thermæ at Pompeii, which, as they were destined to take a place in buildings entirely painted, could not but be included in the same system. But on the very monuments of the highest order, how many traces do we not find, although defaced from day to day by time and negligence, of this use of colours, the object of which was to correct the coldness of the marble, to temper the stiffness of the stone, without however going so far as to produce that false and coarse imitation, which deviates from the domain of art. The Pallas of Velletri, the famous Amazon of the Vatican, and the beautiful Diana of Versailles, received on several of the nude parts, as well as on the drapery, an application of colours for the purpose I have mentioned. The Venus de' Medici had the hair gilt, and earrings fixed on, probably, also, in gold. The Minerva of Herculaneum had, on several parts, gilding so thick that it came off in scales. The small Diana of Herculaneum exhibits still more perceptibly than any other ancient statue, the application of different colours on different parts of its drapery, and if it will be allowed me to advance my own testimony, I can affirm that on a great many of the most beautiful ancient statues which have not been noticed with this view, but which I have examined with the greatest care, especially the beautiful Caryatides of the Villa Albani, at Rome, the use of differently coloured tints can be distinctly discovered, which made certain parts of the drapery stand out, and set off the brilliancy of the flesh and the beauty of the nude; in fine, gave the marble almost the colour and appearance of flesh, and produced in addition to this, the immense advantage of preserving the marble, of protecting the surface from the effects of humidity which wears away and destroys the material, an advantage which can be fully appreciated by comparing the most beautiful ancient statues, such as the Apollo and the Mercury Belvidere, the Venus de' Medici, the Hercules Farnese, which still, as we may say, retain their flesh untouched, with many modern statues, the surfaces of which are stained, or rubbed off, or destroyed in so many different ways.*

* However powerfully R. Rochette may argue in favour of polychromatic sculpture, in our opinion sculpture can never be other than *form in its purest ideal*; and any application of colour which would detract from the purity and ideality of this purest of the arts, can never be agreeable to our taste. The

I must claim your indulgence for all those digressions, which, in appearance, carry me so far from the principal object of my researches. I had as yet barely reached in the history of Greek art the age of Daedalus, and here I find myself almost at our own age, allowing myself to follow a succession of ideas which involuntarily spring one from another. But this is an inevitable inconvenience in a lecture which scarcely ever allows us to follow that methodical order, that rigorous deduction which ought to be found in a written composition, and it is also a part of the nature of the subject of which I treat, and which consists, as I have already had occasion to remark, less in presenting a complete and connected history of art, than in offering some general views on its genius. Let us nevertheless endeavour after this digression, to return to the point where we left off, I mean the age of Daedalus, and in order to return to our subject at once, and to sum up in a single word, let us here consider it as established, that the system of polychromatic sculpture, such as it existed among the ancients, depended on the prevailing custom of primitive art, of dressing painted statues in real drapery, and thus obtaining an illusion the more effective, as the imitation was more rude, and art itself more imperfect.

In treating of *Dædalus*, it is not necessary to say that I shall speak but little of Dædalus himself. His history, as it is related by Diodorus Siculus, is almost entirely composed of fables, which have already been considered as such by Simonides, and it would evince bad taste in us to show ourselves more credulous at the present day than at the time of Pindar. The name itself of *Dædalus* was not a proper name,

modern taste for polychromatic sculpture is obviously but a returning to the primitive imperfection of art when an attempt was made to produce illusion, in order to please the uneducated taste of the vulgar. The great masters of art never coloured their marble statues. The Cnidian Venus of Praxiteles was colourless. Müller observes that "colour in sculpture operates with so much the less advantage the more it tries to approach nature, because in this endeavour to represent the body completely, the want of life only strikes us the more disagreeably. Hence the repulsiveness of wax figures; the illusion aimed at is precisely what here revolts." We must also remark an inconsistency in R. Rochette, for if he censures the age of the Antonines for reproducing Egyptian statues in the style of a primitive and imperfect art, why should he defend the taste for polychromatic sculpture which he proves was derived from the rude contrivances of early and imperfect art, to produce illusion by painting statues and covering them with real drapery.—*Note of Translator.*

as I have already remarked it was a generic name, which designated every kind of artist; and it is probably in this sense that it was employed by Homer in a celebrated passage of the *Iliad*.*

But there were some historical facts connected with this name, as well as some real monuments which were supposed to have been produced by this personage; and it is under this two-fold view, that I must consider Dædalus, that is to say, as *art itself* in its primitive form and in its first school. The greater number of traditions represent Dædalus as an Athenian, of the race of Erechtheus, the contemporary and near relation of Theseus; the same traditions represent him as going to Crete, then to Sicily and Italy, and even to Sardinia.

These fables are evidently connected with ancient Phœnician traditions which point out the same places, I mean Attica, Crete, Sicily, Sardinia, as the principal points occupied by Phœnician adventurers, consequently they trace under the name of Dædalus, and in the very course of his travels, the path which Phœnician arts and trade followed towards the west of Europe, taking Attica as the point of departure, which was certainly one of their most ancient, and one of their principal establishments. Fable here, therefore, takes the place of history, which is far better than when it throws a veil over it, and, to speak truly, fable here is in reality but history, under a poetic costume, as it is everywhere in the first annals of a people. We must therefore understand, under the name of Dædalus, a *school of artists*, probably Athenians, who disseminated at different periods, and in different places, though not far distant the one from the other, some knowledge and some mechanical practices derived from a Phœnician source. The works attributed to Dædalus, fully confirm this inference. At the head of these works figure the Bull and the Labyrinth of Crete, monuments which manifestly bear an oriental impress. The Labyrinth of Crete was imitated from that of Egypt, according to the formal testimony of an ancient writer.

Subterranean constructions of the same kind existed in Italy at Clusium and at Cumæ, in Sicily at Agrigentum, with which the name of Dædalus was also connected. The connecting link between all these traditions is very striking, and the

* *Iliad* xviii. 693.

evident Phœnician origin of the fable of the Minotaur added to the very conformation of this mythological being, derived from the same oriental source, makes it impossible to avoid recognising their character and acknowledging their testimony. Other constructions, which these same fables attribute to Dædalus, also bear the same impress. Thus Diodorus Siculus affirms that in his time, there existed in Sardinia many considerable works, which were supposed to be works of Dædalus, and at the present day the attention of the learned world has been called to those sepulchral constructions of Sardinia which appear to belong to periods of primitive civilisation, and, according to all appearance, present oriental forms such as have been found in certain tombs of Pæstum, or that of the Curiatii at Albano, and in the Etruscan traditions of the tomb of Porsenna, built over a labyrinth. There are in all these connecting facts, analogies which cannot be denied, nor explained otherwise than by some real communication, which took place at a period certainly very remote, and probably through the means of commerce between Attica and the countries mentioned, by the means of a national school of artists, the whole represented in the person of Dædalus. This established, there is nothing contradictory in supposing that at this period, and in this school, there may have arisen a man endowed with some peculiar talents, or thrown into some extraordinary enterprises, such as are almost always to be met with at those periods of crisis, when the human mind begins to ferment, and that this man, seizing at that period the direction of art, received its name, and at a later period has been considered as its living expression, as its very personification: in a word, who was called Dædalus, because he may have been confounded with, or because he may have concentrated, and, so to speak, absorbed in himself the contemporaneous inventions of several artists, the successive works of several generations, as it almost always happens in the case of those eminent men who form in themselves alone a whole school, a whole age, as would happen, for example, in the case of Raphael, if all the traditions of his time should happen some day to be lost, we should thus be no longer able to distinguish the works of his hands, from the influence of his genius, and should be obliged to confound in his fame, that of his pupils, to refer all to his glory—in a word, to consider in him alone his entire school. There exist, with regard to Dædalus, some other more precise facts, and which

concern more essentially the history of art. I would speak of a great number of statues which were attributed to him, and which were in existence in different parts of Greece at the time of Pausanias, in the second century of our era. Thus, there are mentioned two Hercules by his hand, one of which was naked, at Corinth, and the other at Thebes, a Minerva at Cnossus, a Venus at Delos, and some other statues, the enumeration of which, more or less subject to philological difficulties, would be superfluous here.

These statues were of *wood*; this has been expressly said of some, and probably may be said of all. But what is far more important to consider than the material, in these works of primitive art, is the genius, and the character stamped on them, and the nature itself of the representation. Now the peculiar character of all those Dædalean figures, is, that they had the arms isolated from the body, the legs also detached, with the eyes open; that is to say, they had the appearance of nature, as well as that of life, consequently a beginning of action, and a principle of imitation. This then is an important progress in the practice of the art, which was attached to this name, or to the school of Dædalus; and as this name is Greek, and this school is Attic, and this progress is in itself foreign to the Egyptian system, we here obtain the point of divergence at which Greek art, as yet in its cradle, separates itself from Egyptian art, never again to meet. These are facts, which I consider as established, and which deserve to take a place at the head of the history of art. I shall now mention some others which are connected with it, and which cannot indeed lay claim to the same importance. In some passages of Greek authors, certain movable figures of wood are mentioned which were set in motion by the means of quicksilver, with which the interior of these figures was filled, and which were attributed to the ancient Dædalus. It seems that they were of ebony, and they were employed in the festivals of Bacchus to produce certain pantomimic effects; they were therefore kinds of puppets, or automata, provided with some mechanism inside, by the means of which they were made to execute all kinds of grotesque movements and fantastic attitudes.

Aristotle mentions one of these movable figures of wood, which was a Venus; and a very curious passage of Plato proves that these kinds of figures must have been very common. He compares those floating opinions, which have no steadfast

hold in the mind of man, and those which true science has fixed there, to those *figures of Dædalus some of which always in motion, because they wanted the spring made to stop them, were of little value, others, more precious, and more beautiful, had the power of remaining immovable.* Plato adds, *perhaps you have not seen those figures, or you have them not at your house?* Surely it would be absurd to suppose, that puppets of this kind were the works of the ancient Dædalus. But what seems necessarily to result from the fact mentioned by Plato, and from the name of *figures of Dædalus* given to those automata, is that the idea of motion produced for the first time by the works of Dædalus and of his school, had been identified with the very name of the artist to such a degree, that in the popular language this name remained attached to those *movable figures*, which were in such common use, and were of the rudest contrivance. A more weighty and more important testimony in every respect has been also handed down to us, with regard to the *style* of the figures executed by the real Dædalus or in his school. Pausanias, who had the opportunity of examining a great number, could form a just idea of their character, writes these remarkable words; *there is in all those works of Dædalus something repulsive to the eye, yet nevertheless something also divine.* This is exactly the effect which all those statues of an ancient style produce, such as those of Egypt, which present, precisely because they possess nothing, or almost nothing, which partakes of imitation, and because the design is entirely destitute of details, something grand and colossal which strikes, imposes, and which is suited to an idol, at the same time that it is distasteful to the beholder, and repugnant to our taste. This observation of Pausanias, full of penetration and depth, gives therefore by tokens which are familiar to us the character of primitive Greek sculpture, and this character consisted in a certain monumental treatment, in great unobtrusiveness of details such as are to be found in the works of Egyptian art, united with some effects of imitation, some attempt at movement, which proved that the artist, whoever he may have been, had already cast his eyes on nature.

Such was then, that ancient school of Dædalus, of which we can form a more complete idea, by comparing the scattered hints of it, which have been handed down to us, with the first paintings of the revival of the arts, in which already the Byzantine type of the Christian paintings modified by a

beginning of truth, strikes and is distasteful to us at one and the same time, from that antique style, which has something religious about it, with all its imperfections, and which presents something solemn, in spite of the total absence of imitation, in a word, a sacred character resulting from the religion which employed it, from the antiquity the impress of which it bears, and from the very imperfection of the art from which it proceeds.

EIGHTH LECTURE.

Continuation of the same subject—Family of Artists, called Dædalides, in the same manner as the families of poets and physicians called Homerides and Æsclepiades—Ancient schools of Greek Art—Eginetan school—General observations on the character of that ancient school—Digression on the paintings of the period of the revival of arts, and in particular in those of the Campo Santo of Pisa compared with the productions of the Ancient Greek School—Of Bupalchus, the most ancient Greek painter mentioned in history—Of the more ancient monuments of Greek Art—Medals: importance of the study of Numismatics with regard to the history of Art—Greek Vases: general observations on this class of Archæological Monuments—Of the Chest of Cypselus—Conclusion.

I HAVE endeavoured to give an idea of Greek art, under its first form, and in its most ancient school, without however disguising aught that was uncertain or fabulous in this period of the history of art. This was, to speak correctly, the mythological part, and it is rather a spirit of curiosity than any real wish for instruction which leads us to examine those traditions, more or less vague of a period of art, monuments of which are entirely wanting. For the period which immediately followed, we find ourselves equally destitute of precise information, equally deficient in original monuments. I have already spoken of the great gap which Grecian history presents from the return of the Heracleidæ, to the beginning of the Olympiads, a gap which no one hitherto has been able to fill up, nor even to explain satisfactorily. The arts doubtless found themselves involved in the same causes which checked, during all this long period, the development of Greek genius, or at least the information relative to their history, has been involved in the same shipwreck in which all the other arts and sciences were swallowed up: for I acknowledge, that it is difficult to believe that, stormy and agitated as the condition of Greece was in general, during the course of those five or six centuries civilisation remained constantly stationary there, and it even seems to me, contrary to the nature of things that where society is perpetually agitated, where governments change, where the laws vary from one generation to another, the human mind

should remain thus unchanged, and consequently art remain in like manner uniform. We know, moreover, that a great number of poets flourished in this interval; we know further that a number of establishments, formed at that period, carried the language, the laws, and the arts of Greece to distant shores, and covered with flourishing colonies the entire basin of the Mediterranean, the entire circuit of the Black Sea, and the coasts of southern Italy and Sicily. So many resources and such activity in the population, so many means of wealth and industry, can they be proved consistent with an inactive and passive state of the faculties of imagination and taste? A nation which displays so much energy beyond the bounds of its own country, or which is agitated by internal commotions, which covers the sea with its ships, and the continents with numerous and opulent cities, could it have remained inactive and stationary in the labours and the works of the hand? This certainly is not probable, this unquestionably was not the case of Greece. But we want historic data; and this want can be but imperfectly supplied, by conjectures from facts or monuments. If, as everything leads us to believe, the name of Dædalus is a collective name which designates a whole school of artists, rather than a single artist in particular, we must admit that this school, continued to produce works of the same style as that which had been adopted at first, and which consecrated by time, and by religion, must have maintained itself without any important modification, under favour of this double influence. It is by reasons of this kind, derived from the nature of things, and confirmed by examples among other nations, that this long slumber of the art, or this long silence of history can be explained. Some facts indeed seem to come to the aid of this supposition.

It is well known that for a long time there were among the Greeks, certain kinds of mechanical arts and sciences, as well as certain offices, certain religious magistracies, which had become the hereditary property of some great families. Thus *poetry*, which was not at those ancient periods an art of pleasure and of learning, but a grave, solemn, religious profession, thus *medicine*, which shared an equal moral and political importance, were two branches of human knowledge, which were for a long time cultivated under the shadow of the sanctuary, in privileged families, those of the Homerides, and the Æsclepiades, families thus named after two illustrious

men, of whom public gratitude and admiration had made gods, nearly with the same claims, but not entirely in the same degree. These families of poets, and physicians, were not constituted in the same manner as the castes of ancient Egypt, where the profession was transmitted from father to son. It was by adoption, and not by blood, by direct teaching and not by hereditary succession, that the Homerides and Æsclepiades perpetuated their families, they were in a word schools composed of masters and pupils, sects, the models of those philosophical families, as that of Pythagoras was in after times, and not families in the proper acceptation of the word. These schools, established near some great sanctuary, or some celebrated oracle, such as those of Delphi, Eleusis, Epidaurus, Samos, Ephesus, united thus the sanction of religion with the authority of knowledge, and enjoyed for this double reason, that public respect, and that national confidence which are ever a powerful means of influence and an element of perpetuity and success.

There must have been in the same manner, and for the same reason, a family of artists of Dædalides, a school in which the traditions of art, the principles of taste, the processes of imitation, such as they had been fixed during the ancient periods, were taught and practised under the authority of religion. Hence those numerous statues of Dædalus which were without doubt executed during a long space of time, and by different hands, but in the same style, and with a similar intention: like those innumerable Madonnas, works of the pretended St. Luke, which in fact are like one another in character and in execution, but which unquestionably belong to different times and artists. Hence those ancient artists, mentioned in history, as sons or as pupils of Dædalus, Talos, Perdix, Epeus, Endæus, Dipæne, and Scillis, some of which, especially the two latter, from the very nature of their works, and from testimonies deserving of credit, must have lived five or six centuries after the Athenian Dædalus, and cannot consequently be considered as his children, except in the moral sense of the word, that is, as pupils formed in his school, or of the Dædalides, in the same manner as the Homerides and the Æsclepiades were children of Homer and of Æsculapius. Now we know that there existed a family of artists at Chios, the last generations of which come down nearly to the 50th Olympiad, and the head of which was one of those ancient Dædalides, brought up, as we

may say, in the very cradle of the art, so that if there was not any gap in the genealogies of this family, the exercise of the art must have been perpetuated there during a space of five centuries, which leads us to suppose that the traditions of taste, and the very practice of the art must have changed but little there during all this long space of time. Such also, that is one of the Dædalides of the first period, seems to have been Smilis of Ægina, who was the author of the ancient Juno of Samos, and probably also the founder of the Æginetan school, celebrated afterwards among all the Greek schools for its peculiar style, to which it always adhered, through all the revolutions of taste, and all the progress of art. It is necessary to remark here that permanence of style, that transmission of teachings, with regard to art and taste, as one of the principal causes of the perfection to which Greek art raised itself in aftertimes, and in which it maintained itself so long. In fact, it must have followed as a necessary result from that public teaching, which countenanced every individual talent as it arose, and every mechanical improvement, which the daily practice of the art produced,—the result must have been, I repeat, that the very exercise of that art was, with regard to the execution, in an uninterrupted movement, in continual progress, and that at the same time, with regard to style, certain characters fixed by public authority, or consecrated by religious authority, maintained themselves almost entirely free from every change, and from every foreign alteration. Under favour of this kind of constitution, which blended the advantages of power and the rights of liberty; by the means of this happy amalgamation of authority and independence, art, while stamping on its productions, that *sacred character* which was one of the elements of their mode of being, one of the conditions of their success, could follow its genius and adhere to nature, in a number of secondary details, which in no way changed the symbolical value of the sign, and which took nothing away from the moral effect of the representation. We have, in support of this mode of viewing Greek art, an authority which seems to me decisive, in the example of that Æginetan school, which I mentioned just now, and which at the present day is so well known to us by a considerable number of statues found a few years ago, in the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Pan-Hellenius. What strikes the observer, at the first glance in those productions, unquestionably original, of the Æginetan

school, is the intimate union of a sacred type strongly impressed on the conformation of the face, with a truth of detail and an imitation of nature, so careful and so perfect in all the rest of the figure that it is nature itself. Now, on considering on one hand, that conventional style so minutely exhibited on all the heads; and on the other, that prodigious truth of imitation, that exquisite finish of execution in the details,—it is impossible not to allow that the artist, while obedient to the sacred model which he was bound to reproduce, at the same time that he was free in his work, could have adhered to religious rule without deviating from nature, and have conformed to authority without laying down his independence. At the same time, in the attentive study of those works, a proof is obtained of that long succession of works, and of that prodigious course of study by which Greek art, by always following a hieratic type, had attained to that perfect expression of individual nature. On beholding only one of those statues, it must strike every one how many centuries it must have taken to rise from the style of Dædalus, as yet devoid of all imitation, to that wonderful degree of truth of execution; how much patience and industry it must have required to amalgamate, to that degree, the requisitions of religion, which required that the ancient object of worship should be always recognised, that it should remain always sacred, and those of imitation, which exacted that each detail should be true, that each form should be real: in a word, how much time and genius, at one and the same time, was required by Greek art to adhere to religion and to nature: admirable union, which perhaps reveals to us, in that single school of the arts of Greece, and in a single statue of that school, all the genius and all the history of Greek art! I take a pleasure in adducing examples from the history of modern art, in support of the rules of ancient art. These parallels possess not only the advantage of making us better appreciate the genius of both, with regard to the points in which they meet, but also rules of practical utility, and of frequent application, can be derived from the comparison. Now, the history of the revival and development of art in Italy presents a phenomenon very similar to that which we have found to have been the result of our knowledge of the Æginetan school. There also a sacerdotal type, ever modified by the progress of art, and nevertheless always perceptible in its different periods, marked with

a common impress productions, otherwise very dissimilar, with regard to age, taste, and execution. Indeed, for any one who has followed, with an attentive eye, the development of the Florentine school, from Giotto to Perugino, and even to Raphael himself, it is impossible not to recognise the influence of a certain sacerdotal type, of a certain religious physiognomy, joined to the individual expression of the taste of each age, and of the talent of each artist, not to see that certain consecrated physiognomies, certain forms of arrangement, certain conventional details are ever reproduced, nearly in a similar manner, in the same subjects, with that variety of execution, with those peculiarities of taste, which depend both on the genius of the artist, and on the progress of the art. There is most undoubtedly, between the paintings of Giotto, of Fra Angelico, of Masaccio, of Perugino, and of Raphael, laying out of the question the different periods, as well as the different merits of those works, a sort of family air, which depends on the influence of religious ideas, at the same time that there is a difference of execution, which proves that, under the very sway of these ideas, art was still exercised, pursuing all its own resources, and in all its freedom. It is especially in the Campo Santo at Pisa that this observation is confirmed in the most obvious manner. The Campo Santo, or Cemetery of Pisa, is a vast edifice, destined from the beginning to serve as a burial-ground for the most illustrious citizens of that republic, so small in the map of Italy, so considerable in the history of the middle ages. Built from the designs, and under the direction of Giovanni di Pisa, it was completed in 1283; and from that period of the thirteenth century, when all the rest of Europe was barbarian, when men knew no other arts than those of fighting and spoiling one another, the Pisans proposed to ornament with sculpture one of the largest edifices, which exists even at the present day, and of decorating all its walls with paintings; which was completely executed in the space of the two following centuries; and which forms the most considerable aggregate of local painting which perhaps ever existed in any place, and a kind of national museum where all the arts of the period, consecrated to every mode of adorning the country, compose a monument as yet unique in the world.

Since the involuntary course of my ideas, if not the strict order of facts, has led me to speak of that famous Campo

Santo, you must allow me to impart the vivid, and as yet recent impression which the sight of that admirable monument of modern arts has produced on me, and to attempt to communicate it to you at least by words. Imagine four immense and majestic porticoes supported by pilasters, with arched windows, opening out on a square area which they enclose, and which was destined for the burial of the lower class of the people, while in the interior of these four porticoes, are arranged more than six hundred tombs, all covered with marble, all different in composition, age, and execution, belonging to different families or corporations of Pisa. Among those tombs of the middle ages, and of modern times, have been placed, latterly, Greek vases, Etruscan urns, Roman sarcophagi, slabs and other funereal monuments from Greece, or collected in this country, so that the monuments of art of every age, and of death under every form—the works of ancient and modern sculpture—collected and brought together in this vast enclosure, compose one of the richest museums, and perhaps the one which produces the most profound and the most religious impression of all, and which on beholding that immense collection of Greek, Roman, Etruscan epitaphs, and those of the middle ages, presents at the same time the most instructive objects of study, the most interesting parallels, and awakens the deepest emotions. But it is above all, the space given to painting in the decoration of this edifice, which creates in the highest degree astonishment and admiration, which surprises and confounds by the immensity of the work, by the merit of some of the parts, and by the interest and character of the whole. The four enormous walls which enclose the entire edifice are entirely painted over in compartments, the most of which present, from the infancy of the art, the most vast compositions which that art ever executed, and which all present in their aggregate, the almost complete history of painting, from its revival almost to when it reached perfection. It is there therefore, and almost only there, that one can on the spot, and without leaving the same place, study painting in its entire development, follow it step by step, and behold it at first feeble and timid on issuing from its cradle, advance step by step, increase from hand to hand, from century to century, and finally attain a point so near perfection, that it seems it had but one step to make to reach it.

There is no occasion for my saying that all the subjects

represented in these paintings are religious subjects, derived from the Old and New Testament, legends of saints or martyrs. Art then knew no other sources of inspiration than the public creed, while religion, in its turn, supplied the imperfection of art, or aided the impression of its images; it was at once its guide and its auxiliary. With regard to the artists employed in these great works, they were, beginning at the commencement of the fourteenth, down to the end of the fifteenth century, the most celebrated painters of each period, which were successively called, at great expense, by the Pisans to decorate their sumptuous republican cemetery; they were Buffalmacco, Giotto, Andrea Orcagna, P. Laurati, Simone Memmi, Spinello d'Arezzo, Anton. Veneziano, and lastly B. Gozzoli. Then, indeed, great works were not known to be done at a moderate rate, nor works of genius to be done cheaply. The citizens simple and plain at home, and still more economical in their administration of affairs, knew not what it was to be saving in anything concerning their public edifices; it was their government that they wished to be simple, and not their monuments; it was to the most skilful, and not to the lowest in price, that their great works were awarded; and never was there heard, in the midst of those small republics of merchants of Pisa or of Florence, no more than in former times at Athens, the brutal word, *economy*, pronounced where there was any question concerning a public building, precisely because the strictest economy prevailed in all the expenses of the state. The consequence was, that these states, so scanty in population and with such moderate resources, have however left monuments so sumptuous and in such number, such as we, with our immense resources and enormous exchequer, can scarcely conceive.

But let us return to the arts of the middle ages, and to the Campo Santo of Pisa. It would require more time than I can spare at the present moment, and which indeed I should bestow on a subject foreign to the principal subject of our discourse, which is ancient art, if I were to describe in detail the paintings of the Campo Santo. But I must, however, give a general idea in support of the inference I wished to draw from the paintings in connection with the ancient Greek school. Thus the paintings of Buffalmacco, the first in the order of time, still partake in great degree of the Byzantine style; this is the manner of Dædalus, as yet almost entirely

devoid of imitation. Giotto, who comes next, and who worked at Pisa about the year 1300, exhibits in the adventures and misfortunes of Job, one of the most varied, the most pathetic subjects ever treated by art, rendered with a richness of imagination, a truth, a skill in imitation, and a knowledge of drawing, already so advanced in some respects, that one cannot sufficiently admire in it the progress which art, scarcely issued from the cradle, has made in the hands of this great man. The works P. Laurati and Simone Memmi produced in the same school, prove that art, if it advanced but little in the path traced out by Giotto, had not at least retrograded; nature is ever to be perceived there rendered timidly and with simplicity under the same religious influence. Andrea Orgagna—a great painter, a great architect, and a celebrated poet, as were all the skilful artists of that time, who united in themselves almost every talent, as Giotto himself was—Andrea Orgagna displays in his terrible paintings of the *Triumphs of Death*, of the *Last Judgment*, and of *Hell*, a vigour of conception, a variety of physiognomies, of expressions, and of attitudes to which colouring and perspective alone were wanting to announce a precursor of Michael Angelo; it is the austere genius of Dante, and the sombre colouring of the fourteenth century, with the drawing of the ancient Greek vases, hard and dry, but firm and vigorous, which is conspicuous in the highest degree in these paintings, and compositions, the extent of which has not been surpassed, except in the Campo Santo itself, but once, and by a single man, Michael Angelo, in the Capella Sistina. Spinello d'Arezzo, the most mediocre of all these painters, and Anton Veneziano, the most skilful, exhibit almost equally the progress of art, even in the mediocrity of the one, as well as in the superiority of the other. But it is Benozzo Gozzoli, above all, who claims in this immense gallery of paintings a portion of praise proportioned to the immense place which he takes up in it. Twenty-three large paintings, covering one of the two large walls, that is almost the third of the entire building, executed by his own hand in the interval of ten years, from 1468 to 1478, for he died at his work, and his tomb is still to be seen under one of his paintings, with a simple and modest epitaph; these paintings, representing the most striking and the most varied features of the Old Testament, each filled with a multitude of figures, present a

collective whole of painting on wall, unquestionably the most considerable that ever existed by the same hand in the same place, and in which the richness of the invention, the magnificence and taste of the buildings, arranged according to the rules of the most exact perspective, the variety of the situations, the composition of the landscapes, the grace and the truth to nature of the attitudes, the infinite beauty of the air of the heads, especially in the figures of women—the art, in fine, with which all is conducted and executed, excite the highest degree of astonishment and admiration; one must have seen these paintings of the Campo Santo, to appreciate, not only that extraordinary man so little known, but also the immense and rapid progress which the art of painting had made in that interval of a single generation between Fra Angelico the master of Benozzo, and Raphael of Urbino, who was already at Florence in 1514, twenty-six years only after the death of the latter. Indeed, if it was necessary to find in the history of Greek art, a man who, from the place he occupies in this history, from the nature and extent of his compositions, the taste and character of his style, could be compared to Benozzo so far as the difference of time and place would admit, I would not hesitate to point out Polygnotus who in the same manner left immense pages of sacred paintings in the Lesche of Delphi and in the Pæcile at Athens, while their merit, as far as we can appreciate it, from the testimony of the ancients, and also from some reminiscences which have been preserved of his works, seem to bear some analogy to the paintings of the Campo Santo. Here I am naturally led back from the Campo Santo of Pisa, to the Lesche of Delphi, and from Benozzo Gozzoli to Polygnotus, that is, from modern to ancient art.

This digression, indeed, however long it may have appeared to you, and which it was in reality, was not however so foreign to our principal subject, as one could be induced to think. If the dearth of documents and the absence of works of art prevent us from following, during a long space of time, the slow and feeble progress of that art in the ancient schools of Greece, how could we better fill up that great and vexatious gap, than in seeking in the history of an art within our reach, and the monuments of which are before our eyes, analogous facts, principles, and examples? Where can there be found, in fact, greater similarity in the action and in the coincidence

of the different causes which favour the development of the arts, than between ancient Greece and modern Italy, where on both sides, small republics, founded on free institutions, enriched by commerce, and powerful by industry, knew, except the passion for independence, no other rivalry than that of the arts, no other ambition than the glory which is attached to it, and turning all their thoughts and all their resources to the splendour of their religious worship, and to the ornament of their liberty, produced a number of monuments in which all the arts had a share, and artists who possessed every talent?

To return to the history of Greek art, we do not find from the period of Dædalus, which is the mythological period of this history, to near the fiftieth Olympiad, or the ninth century before our era, when an almost complete series of monuments connected with it commence, that is, in a space of about eight centuries, almost any certain information, and still less any original monuments, which would serve to fill up this immense chasm. A single name of an artist, and for a single painting of a battle, the name of the painter Bularchus, who flourished under Candaules, King of Lydia, about the year 719, before our era, has survived, thanks to a single citation of Pliny, in this great shipwreck of historical sciences. If we can credit this single testimony of Pliny, art must have already, at this period, acquired a certain degree of merit, for a rich prince wanted to cover this painting with gold—a piece of good fortune which never happens as is well known, to masterpieces of more perfect art, but which still indicates a certain relative merit in the productions of primitive art, which have been favoured by it.

The very subject of this work gives rise to a more important observation: it was a battle, consequently a painting whose chief attraction was not alone in its grave and simple style, its calm and severe composition, but rather for the movement of the figures, for the exhibition of varied groups, of expressive attitudes and physiognomies, and above all, for some effects of colouring, such as this kind of painting would necessarily present. If, then, it will be admitted that this painting must have presented, with regard to the style of the drawing, much analogy with that of certain Greek vases of primitive manufacture, which present similar subjects, we must also suppose that the use of colours, and the art of mixing them, and of

laying them on, must have been already carried in this painting to a degree of perfection which the skill of the greater number of the cotemporaries of Bularchus had not as yet reached, and consequently that the art of colouring was beginning to dawn, at the latest, in the eighth century before our era. Other facts, few in number, indeed, throw additional light at rare intervals, on this vast and obscure domain of Greek art. I have already mentioned that family of artists which existed at Chios, a family whose birth-place was confounded with that of art, and two members of which, Anthermus and Bupalus, are known to us towards the forty-ninth Olympiad, as victims of the satire of the poet Hipponax. Ægina, where a Dædalean school had been founded by Smilis, a native of that island, where at an early period a vast commerce and a great maritime power flourished; Ægina constantly distinguished itself in ancient times, in the art of casting and working metals, and for a manufacture of sculptured bronzes, which obtained a high reputation among Greek antiquities, one of which, a monument of primitive handicraft, and of a primitive period, has been preserved to the present day, and is now in the French museum. But it is chiefly for the art of engraving coins, particularly those of silver, with regard to which the most probable traditions, in accordance with the most authentic monuments, attribute this first manufacture to the Æginetans, that this people deserves to occupy a distinguished place in the history of ancient art. Whether it is to Phido, King of Argos, who reigned in the ninth century before our era, or to any other prince, that this first use of coins of silver ought to be attributed, it is still certain, from the tradition of history, from the ancient prosperity of the commerce of Ægina, and from the monuments themselves, a great number of which we possess, that the medals of Ægina ought to be considered as the most ancient numismatic monuments, and consequently, for that reason, as monuments of art of the most certain date and of the highest antiquity which have come down to us. The coins of Athens and of Thebes of primitive manufacture, are nearly of the same period, when these first coins of Ægina were struck. The same can be said of those of some other peoples or towns of Greece, either in Europe or in Asia, especially of those of the Leteans of Macedonia; of the Cnidians of Caria; of Methymna in the island of Lesbos, of Sybaris, Caulonia, Pæstum, Crotona, Metapontum,

in Italy; of Messina, Selinuntum, Syracuse, in Sicily. All these coins, which bear more or less, the impress of an art as yet in its infancy, and of a rude handicraft industry, unquestionably belong to the eighth and seventh centuries before our era: they are thus the most authentic monuments which remain of the first period of the art, and the only ones from which we can determine its character, and follow its progress by an almost uninterrupted series of cotemporary parallels and successive gradations.

Numismatics, indeed, ought to be considered, especially at this first period of art, as one of the principal elements of its history; an element, however, hitherto so generally neglected, totally omitted by Winckelmann, and without an exact and complete appreciation of which it is no longer possible at the present day to write on the art of the ancients.

Greek vases of the most ancient style, which present in black figures, on a yellow ground the outlines or the *nude* parts traced with a sharp point on the yet moist clay of the vase, compositions of more or less extent, but almost always symmetrical in their arrangement, a style of drawing more conventional than true, and subjects generally from the most remote mythological traditions—these vases, which compose a numerous and interesting series among those monuments which remain at the present day, in my opinion must be referred to that period of Greek art, which precedes or which immediately follows the fiftieth Olympiad. The greater number of these vases found in Sicily, came probably from the celebrated manufactory of Agrigentum and of Selinuntum, although similar ones have been frequently found in the excavations of Nola, which seems to have been at a certain period the most considerable manufacture, as it was unquestionably the most beautiful of all the painted vases which are known to us. These vases of ancient style sometimes bear inscriptions relative to each personage represented on them: such is, among others, the famous vase of the museum of Naples, found at Capua, and published by D'Hancarville, representing a hunt of Greek heroes, with the names of each of them written in Greek characters of a very ancient form, and very like the letters traced on a vase strictly Greek, dug up a few years ago at Corinth. Sometimes also, but far more rarely, these vases bear the name of the artist written: such is that beautiful vase found in a tomb of Agrigentum, representing

the combat of Theseus with the Minotaur, with the name of the painter Taleides; sometimes longer inscriptions are to be found on them, as for example, on the Athenian vase which represents Minerva, Poliades, or tutelary, with Greek words, which signify—"I am a prize given by the inhabitants of Athens," a remarkable vase for many reasons, and of which several repetitions are known, which proves the use that was made of these painted vases, under certain circumstances, and in certain localities, of their being given as a prize to the conquerors at the public games, and also proves that the period of the manufacture of these vases was most certainly anterior, from the form of the Greek letters, to the sixth century before our era, and lastly, that the style of the drawing was peculiar to that period of Greek art. I must restrict myself for the present, to a few general observations on the subject of the Greek vases, as I shall have occasion frequently to return to them.

A monument which can serve better than any other to form a just idea of the state to which Greek art had reached anterior to the fiftieth Olympiad, is the famous chest of Cypselus, deposited at Olympia as a monument of the safety of that tyrant of Corinth, about the thirtieth Olympiad, about 658 before our era, and which Pausanias saw still preserved in the treasury of Olympia, in the second century of the same era. It was a chest of cedar wood, ornamented, on the four sides and on the cover, with figures in basso-rilievo in gold and ivory, or sculptured on the wood itself, representing different mythological subjects and accompanied by inscriptions in ancient Greek. What a treasure would have been the preservation of such a monument which would have exhibited to us at one and the same time, the art, the mythology and the language of Greece, under the most ancient, the most original, the most genuine form. But in the absence of this monument, we possess the accurate and detailed description which Pausanias has given of it, and which is itself one of the most precious documents of the history of art. We can, however, form a very just idea of the style of the design, and of the composition of some of the principal subjects represented on the chest of Cypselus, from reminiscences and imitations more or less exact of these same subjects, which are to be met with on the Greek vases, in the ancient style. I think that I have remarked as many as ten or eleven of these subjects, which may be

referred, with more or less likelihood to this original monument, and among the number of which, I shall mention in particular, the fable of Thetis and Peleus, a subject hitherto little known, and of which I shall have occasion to publish a numerous series of representations of the most ancient as well as of the most beautiful style of art, all traced on painted vases. One of these vases has been recently found at Nola, and there exist several repetitions in the same style, and of the same age.

We now reach a period in which Greek art is going to take a brilliant and rapid flight, the age of Peisistratus, of Cræsus, of Polycrates; it is the period of the fiftieth Olympiad, in which the action of different causes, slowly combined, will manifest themselves with an ever-increasing energy, and by an uninterrupted series of monuments of the first order. It is here, more especially, that we must stop, in order to examine with attention the causes which gave rise to this magnificent development of the art, and in order to appreciate its effects. But this important examination will require more time: it shall therefore be the subject of our next lecture,

NINTH LECTURE.

Examination of the causes which produced the development of Art among the Greeks towards the period of the fiftieth Olympiad—Offerings deposited in the temples—Historic details on the two most celebrated temples built at that period, the Heræum, of Samos, and the Artemisium of Ephesus—Honorary Statues erected to the Conquerors in the public games, the principal cause of the complete emancipation of Art—Consequences which result from this custom with regard to the progress of Art—Of the study of the Nude—Of the love of the beautiful and of the institutions which produced among the Greeks this disposition so favourable to the Arts.

THERE are in the destinies of nations as well as in those of individuals, decisive circumstances, memorable periods, the influence of which, extending over a lengthened future, determines the very form which an entire society assumes, as it does the existence of a single man. Such seems to have been, in the history of the Greek nation, the period of the 50th Olympiad: then, in effect, was there manifested on every side and by efforts of every kind, a great movement in the minds of all, a precursor of those heroic enterprises, of those admirable works which were to be accomplished in the course of the following generations, and to become, according to the expression of a poet, "an eternal subject of discourse to every age." I shall not trace here the complete picture of that period of Greek history, so remarkable in every respect. It is my intention to occupy myself only with the part which was taken by the arts of imitation, in this great development of the human mind, but this very part was so considerable and so brilliant, that in restricting myself to briefly unfold here its principal effects, its principal causes, I shall present the greater and the better portion of the picture of Greek civilisation at that period: for in no age and among no people, were the arts so intimately linked with social organisation, in no other place did they act on society with such energy, nor did they receive in their turn so powerful an influence as among the Greeks, in the course of the ages to which we now turn our attention; and this was the first and the greatest cause of that superiority beyond all parallel, as well as beyond all

dispute, to which the arts of Greece were raised. It was because they formed an integral part of the social system, and were indispensable elements of the public happiness: it was because they formed with the state and with religion a connecting link, an indissoluble whole, and not, as among us, simple objects of luxury, of taste or of pleasure, detached parts, kinds of furniture entirely unconnected with public or private manners, wants and necessities, that the arts attained among the Greeks a degree of perfection, which never had a model, and which, from that period to the present day, has left no room for aught but the ardent wish, the despair, or the utter inability to attain to its perfection. It would be indeed one of the most interesting and one of the most curious subjects which could present itself, to investigate by what causes and by what means the Greeks were led to that wonderful and rapid development of all the arts of imitation, in so short a space of time, and after so long a state of imperfection. But as I have already remarked, this striking contrast between so long a state of infancy, and so precocious a manhood depends chiefly on the insufficiency of information which has come down to us with regard to the first period of art. I cannot in any way think that art had not had in the course of the period which preceded the 50th Olympiad, a progress slow and insensible, if you will, but nevertheless real and regular; and doubtless art did not issue all perfect from the genius of Phidias, as Minerva issued all armed from the brain of Jupiter. But as from want of positive documents, we are unable to trace the progressive path of art otherwise than by conjectures or by monuments, which themselves do not bear certain dates, we must adopt as a point, from which to set out, and as the basis of our examination the era of the 50th Olympiad, and investigate what could have been at that period the various causes which acted on the development of the arts. One of the principal causes seems to have been the rivalry which was then established between the different peoples of Greece, in decorating, in emulation of one another, the sanctuaries of their national divinities. This generous emulation, in which powerful princes took a share, such as Cræsus, Polycrates, Peisistratus, who were the causes of the origin and the exercise of this emulation hostile to republican institutions, turned out especially to the advantage of art, and cemented that already intimate and ancient alliance between religion

and art, by the means of which the genius of imitation, constantly exercised by the necessities of religion, and the pomp of religious worship, favoured in its turn by the talent of imitation, were developed and advanced by means of each other. Already in the earlier periods, the temples of Greece were used as vast deposits for offerings of every kind, which the devotion of states and the piety of private individuals took a pleasure in consecrating there. These offerings, called *Anathemata*, consisted not only in statues of every size and of every material, but also of furniture or sacred utensils of every kind, such as tripods, vases, arms, thrones, chairs, tables, chests, or *cistæ*, ornamented with more or less taste or magnificence, but all objects on which art had stamped its impress, and not simply, as has been the practice among us in our ages of ignorance, objects remarkable only for the material they were made of, and which had no other merit than their richness. These offerings deposited in the temples of Greece, accompanied by votive inscriptions, presented thus from age to age a succession of monuments of the greatest interest and of the highest authenticity to which the names of the authors, the honour of the states, or the pride of families were attached. They were kinds of public archives or private annals, which fulfilled for ancient Greece the office of those halls adorned with portraits of ancestors in the great houses of Rome. But in Greece these monuments, thus placed under the guardianship of the gods themselves; these genealogical titles consecrated by religion, offered more interest and authority. Collected together at the very source of all those poetic traditions, of all those pious legends, which were likewise preserved in the temples, at a period when poetry was essentially linked with religion, when there existed a school of poets near each of the great sanctuaries, and of the principal oracles—these monuments furnished at one and the same time the subject and the evidence of those poetic compositions, of the epopee, the hymns, the pæans, which were composed in the temples, and which were recited at the public games, and in the solemn meetings of the nation. One may see in the single work of Pausanias, that immense collection of traditions and ancient monuments, how many poetic facts and monuments of art, doubtless inspired or produced one by the other, were mutually explained and confirmed; and we ourselves can judge, by alone comparing the Homeric and the Orphic hymns

with the paintings of the Greek vases, how many religious doctrines, and poetic legends resulted from this intimate union, this reciprocal action of art and painting under the common influence of religion. The temples of Greece were, therefore, on account of the works of art which were deposited there, genuine museums, in the most extended as well as in the highest acceptation of this word. In these temples, one could ascend, by the aid of inscriptions engraved on these monuments, by dates and authentic information, to the very origin of the nation; an example of which we have in the curious basso-relievo of the Villa Albani, which bears the date of the 58th year of the priesthood of Admetus, the son of Eurystheus. One found oneself there in presence of memorials, traditions, and monuments of every age. One could thus study their history in every age, and art under every form. Two of these temples, built at a period not far distant from that which occupies us, deserve above all to be pointed out to your attention, for the reasons I have just mentioned. I would speak of the Hæreum or temple of Juno at Samos, and of the Artemisium or temple of Diana at Ephesus. The first of these edifices, which Herodotus, who had travelled a great deal, declares to be *the largest he had ever seen*, contained an immense number of objects, and of figures in bronze, "monuments of every age and of every form," an ancient writer says expressly. The foundations of this temple, and the first idol which was worshipped in it, both ascended to the infancy of art, to Smilis of Ægina, the contemporary of Dædalus: at a later period the temple was rebuilt, of an extent and a magnificence worthy of a powerful and enlightened age, by two architects, the names of which have been preserved by history, Rhæcus and Theodorus. These same artists—or what is more probable, artists of the same name, in all likelihood of the same family, but living at remote intervals—are reputed to have been the inventors of plastic, or statuary in clay, and of the art of casting statues in bronze.

Lastly, another and a younger Theodorus, like his ancestors, endowed with various talents, is mentioned by Herodotus, as having engraved the celebrated ring of Polycrates, and as having cast the crater or bowl containing six hundred amphoræ, sent as an offering to the treasury of Delphi, by Cræsus. This small number of facts and of proper names it is exceedingly interesting to collect; it proves, by this frequent

recurrence of the same names at long intervals of time, that there existed in that island of Samos a family of artists, a school properly so called; that several of the most important inventions and the most remarkable progress in art appeared in this school; lastly, that the artists which had been formed in it, architects, statuarys, engravers, at one and the same time combined in themselves alone almost all the branches of art, almost the same as took place, at the period of the revival of art, among the principal artists of the Florentine school. The Artemisium, or the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, which was, as is well known, one of the wonders of the ancient world, built at a period not far distant from that which occupies us, became also a vast museum of objects of art and of precious monuments.

Indeed, we can only speak here of one of the reconstructions, and that the most recent and the most magnificent of all; for this temple was rebuilt as many as seven times: the first building ascends to the mythological periods, and to the time of the Amazons, and the last two alone are known to us historically, the last of which is that which was in existence after the famous conflagration caused by Erostratus, and which took place the night of the birth of Alexander, the first year of the 106th Olympiad. The building of which I speak, begun, as it appears, about the 60th Olympiad, continued during more than two centuries, and was entirely completed only a few years, when it entered the mind of the too celebrated Erostratus to seek, in the destruction of so beautiful a monument, so singular a title to immortality. We find on record the greater number of the architects employed in that great undertaking, from Theodorus of Samos, who laid its foundation about the time of Polycrates; Chersiphon, who drew its plan; Metagenes his son, who succeeded him, in the direction of the work; to Demetrius and Peonius of Ephesus, who completed it. The latter became afterwards the architect of the great and famous temple of Miletus, to which he applied, according to Vitruvius, the principles of the Ionic order, as they had been previously employed in the Temple of Ephesus; it was then very probably in the latter temple that the Ionic order appeared for the first time in its definite and perfect form. But from the beginning, this beautiful building excited a very extraordinary interest, and enjoyed an immense renown.

All the cities of Asia contributed, by voluntary gifts, to the expense of the undertaking; the princes and Cræsus at their head, who made a present of golden heifers and of several columns, united in this grand act of national munificence, by giving the entire 128 columns which formed a part of the building: the report of this generous rivalry reached even Rome, when Servius Tullius, who was then reigning, proposed the example of the cities of Asia to the chiefs of the Latin tribes, in order to induce them likewise to build, at the common expense, a Temple of Diana at Rome. The architectural questions relative to this monument are foreign to our subject, and the information we possess with regard to the second temple, does not in any way bear on the period to which I must confine myself. You will, however, readily excuse my introducing here, with regard to this second building, some details fitted to make you appreciate the genius of that nation, so passionately devoted to the arts, and consequently one of the principal causes, and one of the mainsprings of that prodigious development which they acquired at that period. We have no precise information in regard to wherein consisted the injury caused by the burning of Erostratus; Strabo represents the temple as *remaining without roofing*, which could not but have happened, as the Greek temples were covered with woodwork. But the walls themselves, and the columns, although they were in stone and in marble, were probably so much injured by the fire that they could not be used in a new building; for the same writer, Strabo, assures us that the Ephesians sold the columns of the ancient temple, to partly contribute to the expense of its restoration. The state to which fire has reduced, at the present day, the basilica of St. Paul outside the walls at Rome, where the burning of the timber work has destroyed the greater part of the columns—the most beautiful columns in the world—can furnish us with an example, so that we can appreciate the injury done to the ancient temple, and the expense caused by the new one. It is well known, from its being called one of the wonders of the world, how it was rebuilt. The architect was the famous Dinocrates who built Alexandria, and who, carrying his zeal for art, or for flattery to the utmost extravagance, proposed to Alexander to cut Mount Athos into a statue of that prince, from the hand of which a river would have flowed, while the other would have sustained a town of 10,000 inhabitants. The architect,

doubtless, in the rebuilding of the Temple of Ephesus, was not called on to give a proof of such a prodigious development of power. It does not appear that the foundations of the ancient temple were disturbed, consequently that the place was considerably changed. It was chiefly in the system of the ornaments which he employed on it, and in the decorative part, that the labour and merit of the architect consisted. On this point Strabo, who speaks as an eye-witness, assures us that the *new temple had gained in magnificence and in beauty*; he mentions the works in sculpture with which the altar was decorated, and *which were almost all from the hands of Praxiteles*. Pliny merely observes, that the ornaments alone of that kind with which the temple was filled, would be subject matter for many books.

Among the sculptures and paintings which made this temple one of the richest museums of Greece, I find paintings of Apelles mentioned, among others, his Alexander, for which he received twenty talents; other paintings by Euphranor, Nicias, Timaretes, daughter of Micon; in sculpture, there were the statues of the Amazons, produced in public competition in which Phidias, Polycletus, Ctesilas, Cydon, and Phradmon, took a part, and in which the first prize had been adjudged to Polycletus, the second to Phidias, the third to Ctesilas; an Apollo by Myron, a Hecate by Menestratus, chased vases of gold and silver by Mentor. The statue itself of the divinity was a colossus of gold and ivory, by the side of which was preserved the ancient idol, *which fell from heaven*, in cedar or in ebony, and consecrated from the time of the Amazons. The gates of the temple, ornamented without doubt with bassi rilievi of ivory, were of cypress; the stairs ascending to the top were made from a vine of Cyprus. I pass over some details less important or less deserving of credit, but can I pass over in silence the following facts, so well attested in history, and so honourable to the citizens of Ephesus—irrefragable proofs of that sacred enthusiasm for the arts which contains almost the entire secret of their genius? The Ephesians, anxious to contribute alone to the completion of so great a work, employed for that purpose besides the sale of the materials of the ancient temple, all their furniture, even to the very jewels of their wives; hence, doubtless, arose the tale which Vitruvius has handed down with regard to the origin of the Ionic volute. History adds, as if this grand trait of

national enthusiasm, and of public disinterestedness was not sufficient, that Alexander having proposed to the Ephesians to pay the sum expended, and that about to be expended, on the single condition of inscribing his name on the front of the temple, as founder, these generous citizens refused with one voice, and one of them made this answer to Alexander, which Strabo has preserved, that it *was not becoming in a god to have temples built for gods*. The Ephesians indeed found in the artists they employed a generosity similar to their own, each artist having consented to receive, for his works, but his own expenses, and reserving no other reward for himself than the honour of contributing to the decoration of the temple. Thus then, people and artists contended in emulation in this contribution of zeal and talent, of works and sacrifices, to raise monuments for posterity: what had been the work of centuries became the work of a few years, and the ornament of a single town became the wonder of the entire world. Do you not perceive in this single trait the whole secret of the power and genius of the Greeks? and can you then believe that it could be impossible that so small a nation, with such feeble resources, should have done such great things? I have but a few more words to say concerning this temple and its history. In the first age of Christianity, Ephesus, from possessing this celebrated temple, was still one of the first seats of paganism. It was for that reason that St. Paul went to preach there the Christian faith, in order to combat, on its own ground, and in its principal sanctuary, the ancient religion with the new. At that time an entire class of artists and workmen found in the manufacture of small models in silver of the Temple of Ephesus, a lucrative branch of industry.

These workmen, with a certain Demetrius at their head, leagued together against the apostle, who threatened to reduce their profits, and to abolish their trade, by attacking the ancient worship, its temples, and its ministers, upon which there arose a popular tumult, which was appeased for the moment. But St. Paul, judging that the ancient religious system could not be successfully combated in places where so many public and private interests were so intimately bound up with the maintenance of the worship, took the wise resolution of abandoning Ephesus, and of betaking himself into Greece. The worship of Diana remained therefore master of the ground, and its temple continued to be the ornament of Asia and the admira-

tion of the world, until about the middle of the third century, when an invasion of the Goths, which took place under the Emperor Gallienus, caused the fall of the temple. Pillaged and burned by those barbarians, it is not probable that it ever rose from its ashes afterwards; Christianity then more powerful, and more widely spread, doubtless would not have allowed it, while the empire, feeble and divided—Greece, humiliated and impoverished—polytheism expiring, and art in its decline, were at that period reduced to a common state of powerlessness. The temple of Diana disappeared then from the scene of the world; at the present day it is with difficulty that the traveller can find, on the spot where it once rose, some few traces of its very existence; but it remains, and ever will remain in history; it is there, in fact, that everything which does honour to the human mind, every work of genius, finds a certain refuge against the attacks of barbarism, of fanaticism, and of time.

I now return to the statement of the causes which produced the development of art, about the period which I have assigned to this memorable phenomenon. This period—signalised by a number of remarkable men and works; by the simultaneous appearance of Pythagoras, and of other philosophers, who were called the seven wise men; by the legislation of Solon, and the poems of Simonides and of Pindar; by the great works which Polycrates had executed at Samos; by the embellishment of Athens, which was crowding itself with Hermes, which had just seen the institution of the Great Panathenæ, and the foundation of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, laid under the administration of Peisistratus—this period undoubtedly announces that a great movement prevailed in the minds of all, and consequently that the arts connected thenceforward with all the other elements of public and private life, must have had their share in this great movement, and must have signalised themselves by some extraordinary efforts. Now one of the principal causes which favoured the rapid progress they made at this period, was unquestionably the custom which began to be established about this time, of erecting to the victors, in the public games, principally at Olympia, statues in honour of them. In the more ancient times this custom either did not as yet exist, or only took place at rare intervals, or the works produced were too imperfect. Thus the statue of Ebotus, victor in the 6th Olympiad, was only executed and

consecrated in the 80th, a proof that, at this first period, statues were not as yet erected in honour of athletes. Thus, about the 61st Olympiad, when Praxidamas of Ægina, and Rhexibius of Opontum, consecrated themselves their own statues, as monuments of their victory, in the Altis, or the sacred wood of Olympia, a custom which then became general, the statues of these athletes were as yet but of *wood*, the one of a figtree, the other of a cypress. However, I find a statue of marble mentioned, of the athlete Arrachion, erected in the 54th Olympiad, in the public square of Phigalea; and, at a still more ancient period, that of the Spartan Eutelidas, twice victor, in the 38th Olympiad, had been consecrated at Olympia, according to all appearance, in the same material, that is *in marble*. But Pausanias remarks expressly, with regard to this statue, that it was *in an ancient style*, and that the inscription engraved on the plinth had become almost illegible by time. As to the other statue, which I have just mentioned, that of Arrachion, the description which Pausanias has given us of it being more detailed, and more precise, becomes one of the most precious elements we can collect in the history of art, and of the most important for a knowledge of its progress. Pausanias observes that this statue, being very ancient, presents, especially in its general conformation, the proof of this antiquity; *for*, he adds, *the feet are scarcely separated one from the other, and the arms hang down the length of the body*. One cannot but recognise, from these characteristic features, a statue conceived in the hieratic or sacred style of the ancient periods, such as we observe in a statue treated in the same manner, and which must date from the same period—I would speak of the celebrated statuette in bronze of the Nani Museum. However, it would be wrong to conclude, from this single fact, that all statues, executed in different parts of Greece at the same period, were treated in the same style: in the first place, because it is notorious that the Arcadians, in the midst of whom this statue of one of their fellow-citizens was erected, and doubtless also by one of their compatriots, were one of the peoples of Greece the most backward in civilisation, and especially in the culture of the arts; in the second place, because a number of moral considerations, or particular motives which we cannot know, might have had some influence on the choice of a hieratic type for a statue of an athlete, or for any other honorary monument, consecrated with a religious or political intention; thirdly, in fine, because it is

impossible to reconcile a state of art so imperfect, so absolutely devoid of motion, with compositions such as those which were represented on the chest of Cypselus, or which we find on the most ancient medals, and on the Greek vases of early manufacture; and, above all, with the rapid progress that this art had already made under Phidias, in the 75th Olympiad, that is to say, *less than a century* after the epoch of the statue we have been speaking of; a statue indeed unique in its kind, but from which alone a general rule cannot be established.

However this may be, we must observe that the custom which was established from the 50th to the 60th Olympiad, of publicly erecting statues to victorious athletes, strongly favoured the progress of art, and produced its complete emancipation. In effect, if, until that period, art had remained, in a more or less degree, the slave of certain consecrated usages, trammelled by certain religious conditions, one can easily conceive that when called to represent athletes, that is to say, men of a better conformation, in the midst of the most beautiful race of men that ever existed, and thenceforward entering upon so new a path, with so many means of emulation derived from the then existing manners, with so many resources in execution acquired by long experience, art must have advanced with a rapid and firm step to the bourne of its brilliant destinies. Imitation was then established on its true ground; it could study on the finest men in the world—on men in whom nature and exercise combined every physical advantage, the forms and proportions of the human body, the play of the muscles, the truth of the movements, the justness and the effects of the attitudes. They were *real portraits* that were required of the artists, and no longer hieratic models; it was the complete, living, and animated *resemblance* of those victors, the pride of their country and of all Greece, that art was charged to reproduce, and no longer the cold repetition of a conventional type. It was, in a word, such a man in particular, and no longer the human form in general, that it was necessary to represent, it was that every man was to be exhibited, with every feature he could present, and in every position he could assume; for it was decided, by a solemn law, that the athletes, who should carry off the prize three times, should be represented, not only with their peculiar physiognomy, their stature and conformation, but also in the very attitude which had gained them their victory; these were called *ionic* statues. This love of imitative truth was extended

even to the animals themselves, even to the horses which had borne off the prize; they were also represented after nature, as an ancient author expressly says of the coursers of Cimon. The imitation of nature, and of a chosen nature, became therefore the essential element and the principal end of art, and this new condition of art, combined with its ancient religious customs, with its ancient hieratic principles, produced at last, by a wonderful concurrence of causes and effects, that unique phenomenon in the history of the imitative arts, of a truth of forms carried as far as possible, with a choice of those same forms elevated to an ideal perfection. There is little need of a lengthened discourse in order to make you understand how favourable the custom of gymnastic exercises, so prevalent among the Greeks, was to art, from the beautiful models with which it furnished its artists, from the facility of studying them at every moment, and in every possible position, and finally, from the great number of athletic statues which necessarily resulted from such institutions. But I must call your attention particularly to two of the most immediate consequences of such a state of things, at the same time that they are the most suited to explain that wonderful development of the imitative arts.

One of these effects was, that the *study of the nude* became the essential condition of art among the Greeks. In fact, it was a maxim loudly proclaimed in ancient times, and confirmed by all the monuments which have come down to us, that *Greek art never veiled any of its images*. Thus *all the Gods*, of whatever order, *all the demigods or genii*, *all the heroes*, *the athletes*, *the celebrated men* of every condition, were represented *naked*, or with a portion of slight drapery. There were scarcely any exceptions to this general rule, except with respect to the goddesses, who were always represented draped, with the exception of Venus, and also in a few cases, doubtless in consequence of their national customs, which, compelling the women to remain at home, and excluding them from the theatre and public places, would have still less allowed that, in the images of art, their sex should be exhibited in a complete state of nudity. It was therefore the same sentiment of modesty and reserve which caused the Graces to be represented in ancient times draped, as also were those by the hand of Socrates, which were to be seen in the Acropolis of Athens, and which at first caused the Venus of Cnidos, of Praxiteles,

a statue completely nude, to be considered as a reprehensible innovation, it was the same sentiment which prevented the artist from extending to the statues of women the general law of nudity, applied almost without exception to male statues, whether of gods or of heroes, of athletes or celebrated men. Now this nudity, the certain and unquestionable principle of the imitative perfection to which Greek art was raised, and the principal cause of the pleasure which its works afford us, from what other source could it have proceeded than from these gymnastic habits which at first presented to the artists the most beautiful models, and from the laws in connection with the same institution, which constantly calling on art for athletic statues, had thus completely emancipated imitation, had freed it from every veil, as well as from every fetter, had procured for it, in a word, the double advantage of freedom in its work, and of nudity in its model.

This principle, moreover, is conformable with the ideas which the ancients entertained of the Deity, and of men who resembled it; they represented to themselves the *Deity* as *naked*, as the being who gave all, and who was in want of nothing. This is an idea which Seneca frequently expresses, and once in particular in this passage of one of his epistles, "it is not riches which render us like unto God, for God possesses none; and neither is it a purple robe, for God is naked." Now whether this idea on the nakedness or nudity of the gods was originally derived from a symbolical source, or whether it was formed afterwards on the models of perfection which art had created; in other words, whether nudity descended from gods to men, or whether it ascended from men to gods, it is still certain that this law of nudity, thus justified by that idea on the nature of the Divinity, at the same time that it was favoured, in the other departments of the domain of art, by the obligation of representing *man* in this state, must have acquired, from the effect of this double cause, a force, a generality, and a permanence which even survived its principle. For the Romans, who already no longer possessed either the same manners, or the same ideas, still imitated the Greeks on this point; they represented entirely naked not only their emperors, to whom, however, this nudity was indeed suited as a sign of apotheosis, as a feature of resemblance to the Divinity—not only deified personages, as Antinous, but simple heroes who had not enjoyed a similar honour, as Pompey and Agrippa, as

they are both represented in this heroic costume, that is, absolutely naked; the former in the famous statue of the Palazzo Spada, at Rome; the latter in a beautiful statue, too little known, of the Palazzo Grimani, in Venice. Another effect, which did not the less result from the gymnastic institutions of the Greeks, and which did not turn out to be of less advantage to the imitative arts, was the preference given beyond all others to physical advantages, and that universal honour, that enthusiasm, that worship of the beautiful, which were so closely linked among the Greeks, not only with the practice of the arts, but also with every moral idea, with every generous sentiment. I shall not repeat here what Winckelmann has said on all the institutions which that passion for beauty, carried to excess, made the Greeks imagine, and which it is almost impossible for us to conceive; on the public games, in which the prize of beauty was contended; on the contests of beauty, which took place among women at Sparta, at Lesbos, and at other places; among men, at Megara and in Elis, on those incredible honours bestowed on beauty, to such a degree, that among many peoples of Greece, it constituted the priesthood of certain divinities, and made a god itself of every person who possessed it in a high degree, as proves, among other examples, that of a citizen of Crotona, called Philippus, who was deified by the inhabitants of Segeste, in Sicily, and who received, even in his life time, sacrifices, solely because he was so very beautiful. But with regard to this point, I must press this on your attention, that the estimation in which beauty was held among the Greeks depended partly on moral and political reasons, and not alone on sensual ideas: it was because they believed that a beautiful soul was generally placed in a beautiful body, and that a sound and vigorous constitution was the first condition of courage, and in some way the first element of liberty, that they made it their chief aim to produce, under every form, and to favour, in every possible manner, the principles and the images of the beautiful. Hence the idea of beauty joined to that of goodness, in the composition of the word which designated in the Greek language superior merit, pre-eminent merit, *Καλοκάγαθος Καλοκαγαθία*. Hence that epithet of *beautiful*, which had become the first title of glory, and the praise which comprised all others, a word which Phidias inscribed on his statue of Jupiter Olympus, after the name of one of his disciples, to immortalise his memory—a word which

a foreign king traced with his hand on all the walls of his palace, in honour of the Athenians, to evince his affection for them; a word which we see repeated a thousand times on the Greek vases, applied to every kind of person, and from every kind of motive—through friendship, through gratitude, through piety; a word, in fine, which comprising at once the idea of physical beauty and of moral beauty considered as inseparable, thus offered to the mind a perfect image, similar to that which was presented to our eyes by the beautiful productions of art. I have no need of making any remark on all the advantages which resulted, with regard to the practice of art, from such a mode of thinking. It is evident that among a people so keenly alive to beauty, a people which showed itself so passionately attached to its images, which presented so many models of it, art could not but fulfil its destination, by seconding, by every means which were in its power, so general a disposition, which was at the same so favourable to it. But still further: political government, also, came in certain places to the assistance of art, presenting to it the beautiful, as the sole aim, as the first condition of its labours. Thus there existed a law among the Thebans which forbade an artist, under severe penalties, to represent ugly persons and odious subjects, scenes of a low and base kind, images of a vulgar or common nature; exaggeration, caricature, were cut off by law from the domain of art, as an infringement on its principle, as outrages to public reason and decorum. Greece had, however, in that period which announced its decay, its genre and tavern painters, its Pauson and its Pyreicus, who painted with all the care and talent of a Teniers and of a Van Ostade scenes in low life; but Pauson, whose works the grave Aristotle advised to keep aloof from the eyes of young men, to preserve their imagination from all contamination, lived in a state of poverty, which exposed him to the sarcasms of Aristophanes. Thus philosophy and the theatre both acted as a support, and a corrective to the laws. As to Pyreicus, if his works were sold at a high price, he was not the less branded by the title of Rhyparographos, or the rag painter, which rendered his person contemptible, and his talent despised, among all the artists, as well as in the eyes of all his fellow-citizens; thus morality was satisfied, thus art itself avenged by this kind of public brand stamped on the man who made such an abuse of his talents. These ideas, customs, laws, which prescribed the study and imitation of the beautiful to artists,

are so important a fact in the history of art, so new and so foreign to us, especially at the period in which we live, that I must be allowed to dwell for a few moments on this subject. But the reflections which are connected with it are too important and too numerous, to be only touched upon in this lecture. I shall have occasion, moreover, in offering on this point the result of my observations, of applying them with regard to some errors of our present taste, in a way which will not, perhaps, be without its utility; of opposing the example and the theory of the Greeks to the error of some men, who seem to form, with regard to the object of imitation in the fine arts, a far different idea; who consider the hideous as the beautiful, the fantastic as novel, caricature as expression, and incapacity as talent. I shall, at least, avail myself of this opportunity of making here a kind of protest against the bad taste of a portion of the public, and against the encouragement, of whatever kind and from whatever quarter it may come, granted to that vicious direction of art; and, indeed, considering the many things I shall have to say, the many prepossessions I shall have to combat—perhaps, also, the many angry passions I shall provoke, it will not, surely, be too much to devote an entire lecture to it: it shall be, therefore, the subject of our next discourse.

TENTH LECTURE.

Continuation of the same subject—The study of the beautiful, the predominating principle of Greek Art—Expression subordinate to this principle—Examples drawn from the Niobe and from the Laocoön—Other examples drawn from the painting of Timanthes, representing the sacrifice of Iphigenia—Application of these principles to some errors of modern taste or of Romanticism in Painting—Of the Destination of Works of Art among the Greeks, and of the condition of the Artists—Historical observations on the Monuments belonging to the Ancient Style which have come down to us.

BEAUTY considered as the sole aim, as the genuine essence of art, was, as we have said, favoured in every way among the Greeks, by their manners, their institutions, and their laws. It was in this sentiment raised to a degree of enthusiasm, which seems to us akin to extravagance; it was in this principle, carried out in all its consequences, that lay, in our opinion, the principal cause of the perfection to which this art was carried among the Greeks. Each of these two assertions deserve to be the subject of some particular observations here. I suppose that no one can entertain the slightest doubt with regard to the reality of the worship which the Greeks, in the flourishing period of their republics, paid to *beauty*. It would be, doubtless, more difficult to reconcile the idea of this worship with morality, than to render the accounts which have come down to us consistent with historic truth. It is certain that actions and persons, which appear to us as censurable, and justly so, changed, in the eyes of the Greeks, their nature and their character, when the merit of beauty was added in an eminent degree. Phryne, absolved from the penalty of death, which she had incurred, solely because she was beautiful, was no longer in the eyes of the law what she would be in ours, a simple courtesan, but the living model from whom Praxiteles had realised his perfect image of his Venus of Cnidos; and the statue in gold of this courtesan took its place at Delphi among the statues consecrated by public piety. These courtesans themselves, forming, in certain parts of Greece, a kind of priesthood; considered for that reason as sacred personages, Hierodulæ; called by Pindar the *young and amiable priestesses*

of *Persuasion in the rich Corinth*; celebrated by Simonides, as having contributed, by their devotion to Venus, to the safety of Greece, almost as much, if not entirely in the same way, as the heroes of Marathon, were indebted to their sole beauty, of which they were models, for their participating in almost the same worship of which they were ministers. This merit, therefore, was raised above every other consideration even with respect to the women, who generally led among the Greeks so strict and so retired a life, who, secluded in a separate part of the common habitation, almost as if in a domestic sanctuary, communicated but rarely with strangers, or with the guests of the family, and among whom, in fine, modesty and reserve constituted the first duty and the first virtue of the sex. But as beauty constituted, also, among them a merit superior to all others, opportunities suited to place this merit in view, means to have it prized, were countenanced and favoured even by the manners of the day, even though they were opposed to the manners of the day. Thus the sister of Cimon, the beautiful Elpinice, took a pride in being a model to Polygnotus, at the very time when Cimon, the head of the republic, triumphed over all the might of the great King; thus the people of Croton collected all the most beautiful girls before Zeuxis, in order that the artist commissioned to paint Helen might select among all these beauties those who should present all the elements of such a picture. These two examples which I have just mentioned will be sufficient to judge of the importance acquired, in the midst of a nation so keenly alive to beauty, by artists thus constituted the judges of this superior merit, by men who awarded a prize to it, who immortalised its image, and who must, for all these reasons, have enjoyed more than any one the advantage of possessing continually its model before their eyes, and in their mind. The high value which the Greeks set upon physical advantages, the superiority they allowed to this kind of merit beyond all others, the extraordinary honours they bestowed on their victor athletes, are facts the principle of which I could not possibly pass over, nor in any way not admit the results. Everything was done among the Greeks to promote the production of *beautiful men*, doubtless because, according to them, it was an infallible means of producing generous citizens, but also because beauty had in their eyes a merit independent of this political result. An ancient Greek ode attributed to Simonides or to Epicharmus, containing four

wishes, of which Plato has preserved the first three, which were, *to enjoy good health, to be born beautiful, and to possess riches honourably obtained*; the fourth wish which Plato has passed over, was *to be merry with one's friends*. Thus every idea of the Greeks, fixed on physical qualities and enjoyment, tended to favour in every manner the highest possible development of both one and the other; whence it follows that art, the energetic and powerful means of rendering beauty appreciable, palpable, popular, must have acquired from a similar disposition of the minds of all, an extraordinary impulse, at the same time that it must have contributed powerfully to render this disposition more general, and to exalt it to a degree of enthusiasm. Hence, without doubt, the importance which the laws attached in Greece to the productions of the arts, the rules imposed by the Hellanodices on the artists relative to the statues of the victor athletes; the prohibition of mean subjects and ignoble figures, pronounced by the Theban law. We can with difficulty conceive how in free countries and under republican institutions, the legislature could thus interfere with the rules and practice of the arts; but it was because this very practice was linked with their dearest interests, with their most important necessities, that the solicitude of the magistrates extended even over the talents of the artists. A profession which exercised so powerful, so constant an influence on the character and on the constitution of the people, a profession to which a nation, naturally enthusiastic, was indebted for so many moral and physical impressions, could not be abandoned to the caprices and to the errors of individual taste. If, in principle, beautiful models produced beautiful statues, beautiful statues, in their turn, when Greece was filled with them, produced constantly beautiful models. For the women of Sparta kept in their bed-chambers (thalami) statues of Nereus, Narcissus, Hyacinthus, of Castor and Pollux, that they might have beautiful children; a more effectual means, without doubt, and above all milder, than the barbarous custom of sacrificing ill-shaped children. Thus the celebrated dreams of the mothers of Aristomenes, Aristodamas, Alexander the Great, of Scipio, Augustus, dreams in which a serpent constantly appears, the customary symbol of the divinity, have been explained by Lessing in a manner as learned as it is ingenious, by the means of this never-ceasing contemplation, this constant pre-occupation in which the Greek women lived,

their eyes ever fixed on those models of divine beauty reproduced in every place, and under every form. Those images of Bacchus, Apollo, Mercury, Hercules, whose image, after having occupied their attention during the day, pursued them still in their sleep. It was, moreover, the same principle which made Aristotle make it a rule to remove from the eyes of young men every ignoble image. In a word, it was a maxim of policy and of philosophy among the Greeks, to present to the eyes nothing but models of the beautiful, to impress its type strongly on the imagination, to favour its reproduction in every possible manner, and it was under the influence of these ideas that Greek art received its definite form, and its immutable direction.

From this supreme law of beauty imposed on art, as the condition which prevailed over all others, are derived, in fact all the properties of that art, as we see them produced, in proportion as the art itself became more perfect. Thus all the other qualities which art can and ought to add to those of beauty, *character, disposition, expression, costume*, remain always subordinate to this principle. *Nudity* becomes almost the general *costume*, because it is the condition the most favourable to the development of beautiful forms. *Old age* is indicated by white hairs, or by some accessories, and never by an exaggerated expression of wrinkles and mean details. Hideous passions which disfigure the countenance; violent motions which mar and break the beautiful lines of the body, hateful personages which cannot be produced without a physiognomy adapted to their character, are entirely banished from the domain of art; and when it was necessary that these personages should be represented, they are produced with a symbol fitted to make them recognised, but never with forms or features of hideousness. Thus the furies, armed with serpents, which pursue and avenge crime. Thus Medusa, her head encircled with serpents; thus all those monsters, and beings of a double nature, which I have spoken of elsewhere, are always produced with a character of beauty which is suited to them, and never with hideous features, and under repulsive forms.* The only god in the mythology who was ill-shaped, Vulcan, lame, as is well known,

* Lionardo da Vinci seems to have worked upon the same grand principle of art in his Medusa, whose beauty strikes even more than the horror, "which turns the gazer's spirit into stone."—*Note of the Translator.*

in consequence of his fall from heaven, was never represented as such in the works of art. At a period in which this legend was generally received, Alcamenes, though obliged to follow it, but obliged still more to respect the principles of his art, avoided that difficulty, by covering his statue with a long mantle. He thus made Vulcan draped by a slight mistake with regard to costume, rather than represent him ill-shaped, in which he would have sinned against the very nature of art, and ever since, art succeeded in emancipating itself, from any lingering scruples, for in none of the statues, draped or not draped, which have come down to us of Vulcan, can it be remarked that he was lame. I cannot help making a remark here on a singular mistake made by an antiquary, very learned indeed and much esteemed—the celebrated Zoega—who thought that he discovered in the beautiful statue, long known under the name of the Belvedere Antinous, an Œdipus, because the ankles of this statue were somewhat ill-shaped, and who considered this defect as a means employed by the artist to designate Œdipus who had been exposed in his infancy on the Cithæron and hung up by his foot to a tree, while this was merely the result of a bungling restoration; and further, this statue is at the present day unanimously recognised to be a Mercury, the lightest, the most active, and the least lame of the gods. But it was chiefly in what concerns *expression* that the principle of Greek art, essentially linked with the sentiment of *beauty*, is unfolded to our eyes in the least equivocal manner. Every expression which by its nature, or by its excess could mar the beauty, either of the features of the countenance, or of the forms of the body, was softened to that exact and precise point, which rendered the first appreciable, without in any way injuring the latter. Never do *anger*, *rage*, *fury*, *despair*, carried to that degree which disfigures the human countenance, profane the beautiful productions of art; although the most violent passions, the most pathetic subjects, are frequently exhibited in the works of art.

Let us take as examples, two of the most wonderful monuments which have come down to us of ancient art, and which represent, one, the anguish of the soul, the other, the torments of the body, carried to the highest degree of intensity possible: the Niobe and the Laocoön; all that the heart of a mother who beholds her entire family perish before her eyes, who in vain holds her mantle as a last shelter to the last of her

children, struck in her arms with a deadly wound; all that that heart can feel of woe, anguish, grief, is it not impressed in every movement of this wonderful statue, in the entire physiognomy of that sublime head, where the justness and depth of that very expression does not in any way take away from the divine beauty of that countenance? And this very beauty, does it not render the situation of Niobe more pathetic, her misfortune more touching, her grief more penetrating? Would it be equally admired, and would it excite as much pity, if her countenance was disfigured by all the anguish, which tortures it, if her glance darted imprecations, if her mouth foamed with rage, if all her features were in convulsions, and in disorder? Rendered hideous to that degree by passion, would she be more interesting in our eyes? and would she not rather lose all the effect of her despair, by losing all the charm of her beauty? Look at Laocoön torn between his two dying sons, by serpents, which entwine all three, darting their poison into them, and crushing them in their folds; never did more fearful agony overwhelm at once a man, a father, and a citizen? Never was the keenest suffering exhibited in a higher degree in all the parts of the human body?

Yet the sentiment of the highest beauty is still impressed in all the details of this very body, a prey to such frightful torture. The head, which expresses so much grief, is not disfigured by any of those convulsions which would have rendered them intolerable to the eye. Everything is beautiful in that statue, or to use a better phrase, everything is pathetic there, for there everything is beautiful. In fact, exaggerate the expression even a little, and judge what would be the result: change into loud shrieks, the deep sighs, which issue from the breast of Laocoön, and see what his countenance would become, only open the mouth, make him cry out with all his strength, then look at him, or rather do not look at him, for by this opening of the mouth alone, you have produced a hideous object, you have marred the countenance, you have changed interest into horror, suffering into grimace; in fine you have destroyed its expression by destroying its beauty. It is this exquisite tact, this skilful combination, of the highest possible degree of expression, with the highest imaginable degree of beauty which forms the essential characteristic of Greek art, which constitutes its unapproachable merit. Beyond this, I see nothing more in expression, were it even faithfully copied

from nature, than grimace, exaggeration, caricature, which excite in us neither pleasure, emotion, nor sympathy. Let us take another example in the history of ancient art, noticed by the ancients themselves, when Timanthes had to paint the sacrifice of Iphigenia—he exhausted, the ancients say, all his art in representing sorrow in different degrees, in the different persons present at this tragic scene: with regard to the father, whose grief he despaired of representing adequately, in a becoming manner,* he resolved to conceal his face. But what does “adequately, in a becoming manner” mean? And why did Timanthes thus conceal the countenance of Agamemnon? Is it because it was impossible to find features and colours fitted to represent the grief of a father? No: there was in this nothing beyond the reach of art, nor was there any incapability in the artist. No, Timanthes would not have shrunk from a difficulty which the most inferior of our painters could have carried out with success. The stronger the passion, the more the features of the countenance in connection with it assume decided forms; the highest degree of any emotion is always that which is produced by the most marked features; and nothing in reality is easier in art, than to represent what is exhibited in nature in so marked a manner.

But Timanthes knew the limits, and the principles of his art; he knew that grief, such as was felt by Agamemnon as a father, could not be represented in his countenance, otherwise than with unpleasing features; he knew such violent emotion could not be shown but under a form injurious to art. By exhibiting his principal personage under an aspect repulsive in its truth, he would have marred the dignity of that personage, and the interest of his subject; he would have destroyed the expression itself, by the excess of expression. Between the necessity of representing a hideous object, or of softening it down, two modes which were equally repugnant to the nature of his composition, what did Timanthes do? He concealed the face of Agamemnon, that is to say, he left to the imagination what he could not exhibit, what he would not paint. In a word, this sacrifice of a countenance which could not be seen as it ought to be, nor represented otherwise than as it ought to be, was a sacrifice to beauty, and at the same

* “Non reperiens quo digne modo patris vultum posset exprimeri.”
QUINTILLIAN.

time an example of the manner in which one ought to convey correct expression, such as the principles of art require, with beauty which is its supreme law. Would you wish to know now to what, doctrines different from the theory and the lessons of Greek art, lead? I need not go very far to look for modern examples; I shall take them from what you see around you at the present day. Suppose that an artist wanted to paint a population of women, children, old men, cut down by the sword; that in order to excite in our minds a deeper emotion, this artist should connect a subject so pathetic in itself, with a recent occurrence, a celebrated revolution; that, in a word, he sought to connect the interest of the subject, the place, the period, in order to render his composition more striking, more picturesque, more pathetic. But if in this massacre of persons of every age, of every sex, everything is equally mean and unpleasing to the eye, if I see everywhere nothing but hideous objects, dreadful wounds, severed limbs, livid flesh; if the women are repulsive in their ugliness, if the children, blighted at their birth, as if still born, offered neither those charms of their age, nor that freshness of health, which would have made their fate more touching, their situation more heart-rending, if I am obliged to turn away my eyes from so many repulsive images, without being able to fix them in any part on an object which excites the sweet sympathy of a generous emotion; can the author be considered to have attained his end in thus exaggerating the expression, in thus neglecting the design, in being lavish to that degree of details, and hideous objects, in fine by rendering similar, as much as was in his power, by the base forms, by the repulsive features he has given to both one and the other, the executioners and the victims, by almost justifying, by a sacrilegious abuse of his art, crime at the expense of misfortune? This is, however, what this false theory leads to, so highly vaunted at the present day, by persons who find their interest in this romanticism, for we must call it by its own name, which consists in representing all that nature produces, in the state in which it is produced, with this exception, that it exhibits more monsters, or at least more hideous than beautiful things—whereas, in the universality of beings, beauty is rather the exception, than the rule; in making of a low and trivial truth, the first object of imitation, the first condition of art; in exaggerating expression at the expense of the selection and beauty of forms, under the pretext

of remaining more faithful to nature ; in sacrificing, in fine, genuine imitation, which is that of the beautiful, and from which alone an equivalent image can result ; in sacrificing, I repeat, to this inferior imitation of objects which do not deserve to be exhibited, or the impression of which can produce nothing useful or agreeable. An ancient artist said to an ill-shaped man : *Who would paint thee ; thou whom no one can look on ?* It would seem that some of our artists say quite the contrary : " Vile as thou art, yet I will paint thee. He who cannot look on thee shall gaze on my picture with pleasure, not as a subject faithfully imitated in itself, but as a proof of my art, which could imitate such a monster." Thus, in this mode of viewing things, art is nothing more than a low handicraft.

The moral effect of the picture, which in reality alone constitutes its chief merit, is sacrificed to the execution of the painting itself, and one does not perceive that by this low and coarse manner of considering art, it is degraded to the level of its object, it is rendered vile as its model ; in fine, it is reduced to the rank of the things it represents, and which, not having any merit of their own, cannot also obtain the least estimation for their representation. I would allow myself to be carried away too far from the sole subject which I have to treat of, and too far beyond the limits within which I ought to confine myself, should I pause to notice here every deviation, and every mistake to which this false manner of considering the arts of imitation can lead those who cultivate them, and those who are its critics. I shall restrict myself to this simple observation : the abuse which can be made of imitation is caused by so many different circumstances ; there are so many ways of failing in truth by an affectation of truth, and expression is so akin to caricature, in those arts which can only seize but a single moment, which can exhibit but one aspect, and that, too, under the express condition that this single moment, this single aspect should be eternal and immutable, so that there is but one means of safety, as there is but one means of success ; that is, to adhere firmly, invariably, as the Greeks have done, to the study of the *beautiful*, to seek it everywhere it is to be found, in the productions of nature and in the works of art, and to make its image prevail, the only one which belongs to every age and to every place, above every consideration of costume, character, or expression, which change, and which

vary according to the caprice of a thousand circumstances of time, locality, and individual convenience. I should not have sufficiently unfolded the principle of the development of art among the Greeks, if in addition to all the causes I have pointed out, I did not also add some new reflections on the moral effect, on the political destination of the works of art, which contributed so powerfully to multiply its works, and to enhance its merit in the opinion of nations, and in that of the artists themselves. From the moment that the greatest distinction that a Greek could wish to achieve, was to be proclaimed a victor in the public games, and that a statue became the reward of this triumph, it can easily be conceived that the number of statues must have been multiplied to an infinity, and consequently that the talent to produce them must have increased with the occasion for setting them up. Then, indeed, the erection of a statue became the customary reward of every kind of service, and almost like the common coin of honour, among the people of Greece. Independently of the statues of the gods, which were so numerous in the Greek religion, and of the statues of their priests and ministers, which were so frequently placed with them in each city, art could then be constantly exercised on every kind of person, and generally on models the most favourable for imitation. When, in want of a statue decreed by public gratitude or by private affection, it was in one's power to consecrate one's own image, to place it in a temple, and make one's vanity conspicuous even in the value of the material, as the rhetorician Gorgias did, by dedicating his statue of gold in the temple of Delphi. Everything was allowed on this point, from the statues of childhood even to those of virtue, glory, and of genius, everything could be the subject, the occasion, and the place for a statue, and we may affirm without fear of exaggeration, that there never was in any nation or at any time, so many different occasions and reasons for immortalising themselves by statues than among the Greeks during all the period of their prosperity. At the same time, the noble destination of their works employed for the ornament of the city, for the splendour of religious worship, and of advancing every talent, must have been of the greatest service in enhancing their value still further in the opinion of those who were its objects or its authors. For a long time, monuments of art among the Greeks were not allowed to be private property; and the most

glorious period for that art was, when its works, produced and consecrated by private individuals, did not however belong to private individuals. The frugal and modest life of the Greeks, the smallness of their houses, such as those of Miltiades, Aristides, and Cimon still were, did not admit of a kind of ornaments which would be thought to be degraded in employing them for domestic purposes. At that time the greatest citizens placed all their glory in that of the state, all their ambition in the embellishments with which they ornamented their country, emulating one another. Alcibiades was the first who introduced painting in the decoration of his house ; but this was a kind of violence exercised against the artist himself, whom he charged with this work. But this ambitious innovation, this profane abuse of an art, up to that time exclusively reserved for the use of temples and of public monuments, doubtless excited against him more enemies than imitators ; and in fact it does not appear that this example was either very promptly adopted or very generally followed, for at the time of Apelles and in the house of Apelles himself, painting was not as yet employed for such a custom ; it is Pliny who informs us, in clear and definite terms, that there was no painting in the house of Apelles. Now, it is in the nature of things that the estimation in which an art is held and the value of its works, should be raised in the eyes of nations according to the use that was made of it : it follows also from this, that the opinion which was entertained of the artists, and that which they had of themselves, must have increased in proportion to the extraordinary value which was set on their works ; and consequently, also, their talents could not but tend to advance to the level of their position. Ever excited by religion, wrought upon by enthusiasm, animated by glory, how could not the genius of the artists, provided with every resource which the most beautiful race of men could present, with the greatest facility ever had to study in every situation, and under every aspect, have continually produced beautiful works, continually surpassed by more beautiful ; Add to this that the estimation and the fortune of the artists did not depend on caprice, or ignorance, or fortune : in the first place, because their works were not destined to serve as frivolous enjoyments or pastime for simple private individuals ; in the second place, because it was in public meetings, in solemn assemblies, to which the most enlightened men of the

nation were called, that the prizes were awarded, and that a rank was fixed among the productions of the artists. From the time of Phidias a contest of this kind existed for painting at Delphi and at Corinth; and it was at one of those contests that Timagoras, of Chalcis, carried off the prize from Panænus, the brother or nephew of Phidias. In a similar contest which took place at Ephesus, Phidias, himself vanquished by Polycletus, was judged only worthy of the second prize for his Amazon. The celebrated painter Aetion, did not obtain the suffrages only of his judges, for his painting of the nuptials of Alexander and of Roxana; the chief of this august tribunal, the Hellanodice Proxenides, as he proclaimed him victorious, offered him the hand of his daughter, and wished to have for a son-in-law the man whom he had crowned as an artist. The independence and integrity of such judges was not more highly conspicuous in the new fame to which their suffrages gave the seal, than when Timanthes, then little known, dared to present himself to compete with Parrhasius, at a contest established at Samos, and the subject of which was the dispute for the arms of Achilles; Timanthes saw his work proclaimed superior to that of the painter who filled all Greece with the fame of his triumphs, and although Parrhasius, on hearing the award, considered himself a victim of the same injustice as his hero, it does not seem that his contemporaries saw in this burst of the vanquished artist anything but pride which was evaporating, and self-love avenging itself. I now leave you to draw the consequences which naturally result from such facts. I leave it to yourselves to appreciate the effects of such institutions, without introducing any of my own reflections, without adding the least observation on the manner, so different in so many respects, in which the productions of the arts are estimated, judged, and ranked among us. However moderate might be my words, I could not prevent comparisons, even though the most innocent, from appearing too pointed, or while restricting myself to point out things, I might be suspected of intending to attack individuals. It is, indeed, enough to have been obliged to show Greece so superior in every point, so nobly and so passionately attached to the beautiful productions of the arts, so wise and so enlightened in the use which it made of them, and in the rewards which it bestowed on them. This vexatious necessity, which I am compelled to, of exalting Greece in everything, will be considered enough to incur the

severe remarks of many people who conceive nothing better than what is among themselves; perhaps I have already even said too much for them, in restricting myself barely to relate facts, and doubtless it is now time that I should return to my subject, that I might not altogether incur their displeasure. We must now, before occupying ourselves with the monuments which belong to the grand period of art, retrace our steps a little, in order to seek out those which may have been produced immediately before this period, when art was raised by such rapid degrees, and by such gigantic strides, from the rigidity of the ancient style to the grand and sublime style of Phidias. We are glad that we have it in our power to mention, not only the names of several heads of schools, and the titles of several great works which issued from those schools, but also some original monuments which ought to be, according to every appearance, referred to this period of art. Let us begin with the artists:—

One of the greatest works executed in Greece about the 50th Olympiad, was the throne of Apollo Amyclæus, the author of which was Bathycles, of Magnesia; this throne was of marble, ornamented with bas-reliefs, the arms of the seat were supported by statues, and on the back of the same seat, were figures forming a *dancing chorus*. Pausanias has given a detailed description of the numerous and interesting bas-reliefs with which this throne was decorated, and which prove the progress which art had already made with regard to composition, and without doubt also with regard to execution. The entire work was of marble; which proves that the custom of working this material was then beginning to be adopted; lastly the artist charged with this great work, was a Greek, of Asia Minor, who had brought with him a great number of fellow-labourers, his fellow-countrymen; which also shows that the cultivation of the arts, in Greece itself, or at least in Laconia, was not then so far advanced as in Asia Minor, the same inference results from the high celebrity which was enjoyed about the same period of the 50th Olympiad, by the school of Dipœne and Scyllis, statuarys of the isle of Crete, who were supposed to be sons of Dædalus, that is, according to the interpretation I have given to this title, who still worked in the ancient Dædalean style. One of the greatest works which issued from the hand of these artists was a group representing *Castor and Pollux, with their wives, their children, and*

their horses, all in ebony, with parts laid on in ivory, a considerable work, which was still preserved at Argos, at the time of Pausanias. These same artists had produced many works, the enumeration of which would be useless here: but what it is of importance to remark, for a complete knowledge of the progress of art in Greece itself, is that they formed a great number of pupils, who propagated, among nearly all the republics, the knowledge and the taste they had derived from that school. Thus I find mentioned as disciples of Dipœne and Scillis, two brothers, of Sparta, Doryclidas and Medon, who worked in gold and in ivory; Dontas and Theocles, also authors of bas-reliefs in cedar, ornamented with figures in gold, one of whom had executed among other works of this kind, a large composition representing Atlas supporting the heavens on his shoulders; Hercules, with five Hesperides, and the *dragon* turned round the *tree with the golden fruit*, a composition of which there remains probably an imitation on a curious Greek vase. Learchus, of Rhegium, author of a statue of Jupiter in bronze, which statue was composed of pieces beaten out with the hammer and afterwards joined together with nails, seems also to have received his instructions in the school of Dipœne and Scillis, as well as Tectæus and Angelion, of the island of Ægina, Pythodorus of Thebes, and Laphæus of Phliontum. The first two of these artists, Tectæus and Angelion, executed for the Delians a statue of *Apollo holding the three Graces in his hand*, a reminiscence of which has been preserved on an engraved stone; and Pythodorus was the author of a statue of Juno, placed in the temple of this goddess at Coronæa, in Bœotia, which statue carried in the same manner, the Syrens in her hand; a symbolical mode of representing the qualities and attributes of the Divinity, which proves how much, at this period of the 50th Olympiad and in this school, which was then the first and the most celebrated of all, art still preserved the remains of its ancient symbolic system, and of its hieratic character. As to the degree of skill to which the art had already attained with regard to the details of execution, and the progress of casting, to be fully convinced of it, doubtless, one example will be sufficient, mentioned by Pliny, of the statue of Theodorus of Samos, which represented himself holding with one hand a file, and with three fingers of the other hand, a small quadriga, so small, that the car itself, the horses, and the driver, were covered by the wings of a fly, cast

at the same time as the entire statue. This statue was to be seen at Præneste at the time of Pliny, but the wonderful quadriga had disappeared. I could still further increase the catalogue of these ancient artists, but, however, without its giving any result of more importance, for the history of art, it is therefore much better to employ our remaining time in briefly pointing out those monuments which have come down to us, the execution of which one can with more or less appearance of truth, be referred to this period of the ancient style, which was about the 50th Olympiad. The first of these monuments, in the order of time, is in my opinion the bas-relief representing Agamemnon, Epeus, and Talthylus, each with his name written by his side, a bas-relief found in the island of Samothrace, or according to another account, in the island of Lesbos, and now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre. Under whatever view one considers this curious monument, with regard to the composition, the costume of the personages, the style of the design, the inscriptions which accompany the figures, it seems to me difficult, not to see in it an original monument of primitive art, and the most ancient, perhaps, among those which we possess of the same style. I would place immediately after, the sculptured metopes in one of the temples of Selinus, which represent the fable of Perseus and Medusa, and that of Hercules Melampyges, the last of which seems to have acquired a peculiar interest in Sicily from some representations which are connected with it, and which are frequently to be met with on Greek vases, manufactured and found in Sicily. All the characteristics of the first period of art are stamped on these bas-reliefs, and the date, so very ancient, of the destruction of Selinuntum assigns to their execution, or to the use made of them in one of the temples of that town, an undoubted antiquity. The celebrated bas-relief of the Education of Bacchus, in the Villa Albani, and the torso of Minerva, of the same collection, ought to be ranked immediately after these monuments, as all belonging to the first period of art.

Three other monuments, the cippus of the Museum of the Capitol, representing Minerva, Apollo, and Diana; the puteal or cover of a well, with the twelve great gods, of the same Museum of the Capitol; and the celebrated *triangular altar*, or base of a candelabrum, of the Villa Borghese, at present one of the principal ornaments of the Museum of the Louvre,

mark the progress, as yet but feeble, which art had made in still following this same style, and when slightly removed from this same period; and if we add to the monuments I have already mentioned the cover of the well at Corinth, and the celebrated bas-relief representing *Hercules carrying off the tripod of Apollo*, several ancient repetitions of which are well known, the most beautiful of which seems to be that of the Museum of Dresden, we have before us nearly all the ancient monuments of original workmanship, which can be referred to the period of the most ancient style considered in its entire development, setting out from the point when this style, as yet almost entirely devoid of imitation, presented all the characters of imperfection, which prove its infancy, to the point where the same style, reduced to a system, but considerably improved in its details, had already attained to all the necessary qualities in order to raise itself rapidly to that perfection which it soon achieved.

ELEVENTH LECTURE.

Historical sketch of the elements, and of the resources of the Athenian power after the Persian war—Public Monuments—Private habitations—Edifices built under the administration of Cimon—The temple of Theseus, the Pæcile—Of the Odeon built by Pericles—Of some other contemporary constructions—Sketch of the administration of Pericles with regard to Art—Schools of Art which flourished in the interval from the sixtieth to the seventy-fifth Olympiad: those of Argos, Athens, Ægina—Characteristics of the school of Ægina which result from an examination of the statues found in the temple of Jupiter Pan Hellenius, at Ægina—Æginetan Style, common to a great number of other monuments of Greek origin—Brief account of the principal of those monuments.

AFTER having related, doubtless very imperfectly with regard to the importance and extent of the subject, but sufficiently for the very restricted purpose which I have proposed to myself, the principal causes of the development of the arts in Greece, it remains now for me to speak of the monuments themselves which have come down to us of that great period of the history of art, and from which we can form an idea of the principles and resources of that art, at the period we are speaking of. The victories of the Greeks over the Persians had carried to the highest degree of elevation and energy all the faculties of that noble people. The enthusiasm for that liberty which had produced so many miracles, did not vanish with the danger which excited it; far from that, it acquired every day new strength, in taking a new direction, while boundless resources, the fruits of an extraordinary development of political energy, favoured this generous disposition. Athens above all, thanks to peculiar circumstances, such as the nature of her soil, the activity of her inhabitants, the strength of her naval power, so gloriously established by the victories of Salamis and Mycale; thanks too to the genius of four statesmen, whose appearance at the same time, and rivalry on the same theatre of glory, may be considered as one of the phenomena of that beautiful period of history, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon and Pericles. Athens became, in the space of less than fifty years, the first city of Greece and of the world, while it obtained the proud

distinction through later ages, of having its name used to indicate among all nations the highest degree of cultivation and civilisation. Almost entirely rebuilt, Athens was embellished by a number of public edifices, and of monuments of all kinds.

The Piræus was finished: dock-yards, where twenty triremes were to be built each year, were established; and the double wall which joined the port and the city, was built in a space of forty stadia, equal to about two leagues. In a short time, by establishment of a common treasury, formed from the contributions of the allies, amounting to 460 talents a-year—a treasury at first deposited at Delos, then at Athens—this single town, having under her control all the tributes of the confederation, whose forces it directed, obtained the Hegemonia, or the command of all Greece; while under the administration of Cimon, a barren and stony country, the surface of which is not much beyond the extent of one of our counties, and whose population in free men was not above 21,000 souls, extended its dominion from the island of Cyprus to the Bosphorus of Thrace, along all the coasts, and over the forty islands of the Mediterranean, from Byzantium to Eubœa, and from Samos to Sicily, and lastly, banished from the Ægean sea, and from the entire coast of Asia Minor, the great King, who a little while before, had led against this single territory his countless armies. Boundless wealth thenceforward flowed into Athens from the tributes raised from the subject towns, and from the rapid and brilliant fortunes of the citizens, who directed the naval and military forces, or who managed the public treasure. One may judge from the fine alone which was inflicted on Miltiades, and which amounted to 100 talents, to what degree the wealth of private individuals had increased in consequence of the general prosperity, from the time of Solon, when an income of 18*l.* a-year constituted the first class of the citizens of Athens. Themistocles, assisted by his friends, saved, at the time of his banishment, the greater portion of his property, yet the value of what he could not take away, and which was placed in the public treasury amounted to the same sum of 100 talents. Now, according to Plutarch, he possessed but three, before he obtained any public employment. But this fortune, the source of which, if we may credit the writer I have mentioned just now, was not always as honourable as had been the poverty of former times, this fortune of private

individuals was made honourable at least by the use it was applied to. It was not in vain superfluities, or in trivial expenses that these fortunes were dissipated, acquired in a more or less legitimate manner, in the service of the state, or at the expense of their enemies; it was for the embellishment of their country, chiefly for the welfare of the people, or for their amusement, that those chiefs of the Athenian democracy employed their revenues, increased by their victories. Thus Themistocles being choregus or chief of the games at the representation of a tragedy of Phrynichus expended considerable sums; and generally this charge of choregus, so anxiously sought for by rich and powerful citizens, or by those who aspired to be so, seems to have been invented only for the purpose of giving the great the opportunity of raising themselves by amusing those of lower rank, and thus to restore to the public all that private individuals had acquired from the enemy.

We may judge from the enumeration of the sums expended on different occasions, almost always for the public games or festivals, by a private individual who was not any way illustrious, sums which amounted to more than 2,400*l.*, the amount of which has been handed down to us, in one of the harangues of Lysias, we may judge that the art of ruining oneself in the service of the people, was not less common at Athens than that of enriching oneself at its expense. Another kind of luxury of the great Athenian captains, which was not the less fitted to reconcile the people with the fortune of its chiefs, consisted in dressing the poor citizens, and feeding them, in paying the expense of their funerals, or in giving dowries to their daughters. This was one of the ways in which Cimon employed his fortune, or rather, was one of the elements of his fortune. Themistocles, choosing a poor son-in-law, but a man of merit and probity, thus justified, in the eyes of the people, wealth which he thus employed to render honourable the power he held, by recompensing virtue in another. But it was chiefly for the splendour they displayed in the public monuments with which they embellished their country, as well as for the simplicity of their domestic life, that the policy of these chiefs was remarkable, while their fortune became more honourable by returning, so to speak, to its source, consecrated by public glory and utility. Nothing was more modest than the private house of the Athenians of the first order; the houses of

Themistocles, of Cimon, of Pericles himself, were not remarkable, according to Demosthenes, for any exterior splendour, for any different arrangement, from those of the poorest citizens; and generally the private houses of the Greeks, even in the age of Alexander, were very small, very low, without any external appearance, without any convenience within. Dicearchus, who flourished about the 115th Olympiad, remarks that Platæa, Thebes, Athens itself, and the principal towns of Greece, were as yet very ill built; the streets of Athens were narrow, irregular, dark, in consequence of the projection of the roofs, to such degree that this inconvenience caused a law of the Areopagus. As to the houses themselves, they all consisted, according to the description which Lysias has given of those of his time, in only a ground floor inhabited by the men, and in an upper story which was reserved for the use of the women, but indeed without any ornament either of painting or of any other kind. We may judge, from the example of the house of Socrates, the contemporary of Pericles, of the small size in general of the houses, and of the little value of the objects which they contained. In a dialogue of this philosopher with Critobulus, one of his friends, a dialogue which has been preserved by Xenophon, Socrates values all he possesses, *including his house*, at five minæ, or 500 drachmæ, which would be equal to about 18*l.* of our money; and I have already remarked, that those high in authority had not better houses at Athens than the philosophers, for ostracism stretched its arm over every one, and threatened in particular, as is well known, those who raised themselves above the others. At Sparta the houses of private individuals were not doubtless more imposing, to judge of them from that of the king, Polydorus, which the Lacedæmonians bought from his widow after his death *for a certain number of oxen*; and this house, which still existed at the time of Pausanias, bore a name which bore witness to this singular transaction, a proof at once of the scarcity of metal, of the simplicity of the manners, and the smallness of the place. But if the houses of private individuals were as yet humble and modest, to make amends, the city was filled with temples, porticos, theatres, gymnasia, and other public edifices, which were the pride of the citizens, and the admiration of the stranger, and by which that noble emulation of works, and of sacrifices, was called forth among the chiefs of the state, which became particularly at Athens the surest

path, as it was the most honourable, to obtain the public offices, or to retain them. Themistocles, and especially Cimon, had shown the road which led to the supreme authority, by fostering and carrying to its highest pitch, among the Athenians, the passion for national glory. The long walls of the Piræus were one of the works undertaken under the administration of Cimon; the southern wall of the Acropolis at Athens, the fountains and walls with which he adorned the gardens of the Academy but especially the temple of Theseus, which still exists at the present day, almost in its original state, and the Pœcile, or portico, so called from the paintings with which it was decorated, were also illustrious monuments of the administration of Cimon, to which his private fortune, the fruit of so many victories, contributed almost as much, doubtless, as the public treasury. Indeed, the generosity of the artists did not the less efficaciously contribute, as well as that of the chiefs of the state, to the completion, or to the decoration of these glorious edifices. Thus Polygnotus, charged with painting a considerable portion of the Pœcile, refused to receive any pay for this great work, and was remunerated by the right of being supported by the public money, which was granted him by the Prytaneum. It is true indeed that this advantage of being supported at the expense of the state did not constitute, for those who were invited to enjoy it, a very munificent entertainment. This entertainment consisted in, according to the laws of Solon, a little broth with barley and bread, only on festivals, and if in later times this entertainment was improved in the same proportion as the public fortune, it may be easily seen that the state did not incur any great risk of ruining itself, nor the citizens of being corrupted, by liberalities of this kind. But this public entertainment was not without doubt estimated for its own value, or for the use that was made of it; it was chiefly for the honour which accrued to him who received a similar distinction, that it deserved to be appreciated, and which it was in reality, and thus a frugal repast, which became a title of glory, and a lesson of moderation, doubly served the interest of the state. But it was chiefly under the administration of Pericles, when that statesman had triumphed over the party of Cimon, first by the removal of his rival, then by his death, which closely followed his recal, that Athens was filled with monuments, and became in the course of a few years, the theatre of public luxury, the best

directed, and the most admirable that had ever been. The death blow given to the constitution of Athens, in the overthrow of the aristocratic party, vanquished with Cimon and Thucydides, could not be compensated for, even in the eyes of the triumphant democracy, than by the splendour of the new enslavement which it received at the hands of Pericles ; for the people, in changing masters had, as is the case in every age, but changed their slavery ; and its yoke appeared only lighter, because Pericles devoted all his energies to make it more brilliant. This statesman, during the lifetime of Cimon, had made an essay of a policy traced by the example and justified by the success of the latter.

He had built, while yet a private individual, the *Odeon*, or *covered theatre*, destined for the repetitions of the choruses of music and poetry which took place at the celebration of the Dionysiac festivals. This edifice, which presented the first example produced in Greece of *covered theatres*, from which ours are imitated, was one of those which testified, in the most palpable manner, the progress of art, and which flattered in the highest degree the national pride. The form was that of *rotunda*, supported by *columns of marble*. The masts and other fragments, the remains of the fleet of the Persians destroyed at Salamis, were used for the roof—remains which up to that time were put to no use in the stores of the Piræus ; and in order to give to this employment of materials, which belonged to an enemy, a more patriotic character, Pericles wished that the form of the cupola should bear the resemblance of the famous golden tent in which Xerxes had contemplated, on a ship of Sidon, the magnificent fleet devoted to such near and unforeseen destruction. We may presume from this, what magnificence, entirely republican, must have been displayed in the decoration of this edifice ; and we know, moreover, that its construction had been directed in the most skilful manner, conformably to the laws of acoustics. Plutarch says that this Odeon contained inside a great number of columns and steps. Repetitions of dramatic pieces took place there which were to be represented, on the festivals of Bacchus, on the theatre properly so called ; contests of poetry and of music, which took place at different periods of the year, between the Rhapsodists and Citharædists, were also celebrated there, in the presence of a chosen audience, of judges of the contest, and of the principal magistrates. There was also a chamber attached to it, in

which were preserved the *vases*, and the *different sacred utensils* belonging to the state, and which were used in the celebration of the public festivals. This Odeon, the first of all those which seem to have been built in Greece, and perhaps also the first building which presented the model of a *cupola*, was burnt during the wars of Mithridates and Sylla, and rebuilt, in the same form of a tent, in which it still existed at the time of Pausanias. Herodes Atticus built a second one at his own expense, but at the present day there remain no traces of either one or the other, and the few remains which still exist at the foot of the Acropolis of Athens, seem rather to belong to a theatre of Bacchus than either of these celebrated Odeons.

There are other constructions which ought to be referred, if not to the personal influence and direction of Pericles, at least to the same period. Such are the temples raised to Minerva Suniades, on the promontory of Sunium, several columns of which remain standing, and the small Ionic temple built on the banks of the Ilissus, which remained almost entire, but indeed in a very dilapidated state, at the time of Stuart, which has totally disappeared at the present day, in so short a period of time, unfortunately, more fruitful in devastation of ancient monuments than almost all the ages of barbarism which had preceded it. This temple of the Ilissus, preserved at least from total destruction in the work of Stuart, was the most ancient model of the Ionic order which came down to our days. But these works were but a kind of prelude to the great works which were destined to immortalise the administration of Pericles, when freed from the rivalry of Cimon, from the opposition of the aristocracy, and from the guardianship of the Areopagus. Pericles began to assiduously flatter the people in order to enslave them, and to adorn the city in order to make himself its master. At that period the treasury of the allies, brought from Delos to Athens, became the principal element of the grandeur of a single town, at the expense, we must allow, of the security or independence of all the others. This money, according to the account drawn up by Aristides, would form annually a sum of 460 talents. Pericles, by increasing this tax by a third, raised it to 600 talents, a bold stroke of policy, which nearly tripled the revenues of Athens by raising them to 1000 talents.

It was with these resources, which present, perhaps, no very imposing appearance to us, but which excited in the highest

degree the envy and the fears of the Greek republics, it was with such resources wisely administered, that Pericles performed all those prodigies which astonished Greece, and which, at the present day, have excited the admiration of the world. It was with these revenues that he maintained greater armies than have ever been seen on foot, before or after him; that he had built and equipped more ships each year, than could have been reckoned, up to this time, in the docks of the republic, and on all the seas of Greece; and yet from the commencement of his administration to the period when the Peloponnesian war broke out, he had placed in reserve near 10,000 talents; and in fine, it was from a part of the reserved funds that all these great monuments were undertaken and paid for, all these beautiful works of art, executed as if by enchantment, during the short administration of Pericles, monuments which still possessed, six centuries afterwards, in the time of Plutarch, and according to the testimony of that author, all the *brilliancy, all the freshness of youth*, and which many centuries more after Plutarch, were destined to make the glory of Athens and the lesson and the ornament of the world. Such are the facts which result from the testimony of history, and which without doubt, will give rise to reflections of more than one kind. I shall only allow myself but one observation. This sum of less than 240,000*l.*, by which the republic of Athens raised its armies, equipped its fleet, and produced so many wonderful monuments, is scarcely more than what is employed every year among us, in expenses of public utility, on objects of art, the execution of statues, paintings, and monuments. But can we flatter ourselves, that it is with similar results that these sums are employed? And if, with the best wishes in the world, we cannot admit this, would it not be an experiment worthy of all the science and all the ambition of our statesmen so skilful in making remarks with regard to the public money, or in spending it, to attempt to do for once at the same price, and with the same resources, the same things that were done by Pericles.

The administration of Pericles, dating from the death of Cimon, lasted twenty years, and was immortalised in that short space of time, by so many beautiful monuments, that Thucydides himself, one of his most violent adversaries, could not prevent himself from paying a tribute of praise to the superiority of his genius. All these works raised under the

influence of a single mind, were done under the direction of a single man. Pericles had found in Phidias the instrument of his designs, as he found, so to speak, in each of his contemporaries, a judge, or a fellow-labourer worthy of each other. One cannot but feel astonished, when one considers this great number of illustrious men of every kind, almost all Athenians, which nature collected on this small spot of the globe, in this short space of time, to adorn with the splendour of their genius, this admirable theatre of human cultivation. Socrates and his numerous disciples; Sophocles, Euripides, and the crowd of their rivals; Aristophanes, Cratinus, Eupolis and their followers; Thucydides and Xenophon; lastly Phidias, with his number of fellow-labourers, the architects, Ictinus, Callicrates, and Mnesicles; the painters Micon, Panæus, and Parrhasius; the sculptors Alcamenes, Colotes, Agoracrites, all men capable of making the glory of an age, and of being the ornament of a country, were all his contemporaries, friends, or adversaries, enthusiasts, or detractors, but all submitted more or less to the influence of his genius; add to this, that Athens, having become, thanks to the power and activity of its naval force, the general mart of commerce, the great market of all Greece; having at its disposal, the rarest and most precious materials; bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, cypress, without reckoning its native marble, called *pentelic*, possessing also, that crowd of artists, artisans, or workmen of every kind, of which Plutarch has left us so curious a list, in the enumeration of the resources created or employed by Pericles: a population entirely devoted to art, all submitted to the direction of Phidias, and finding full employment for its activity in the great undertakings of Pericles, while the rest of the population served in the armies, or in the fortresses, or in the ships of the state, and in its pay; presents, thus the most complete picture that it is possible to imagine, of the most brilliant concourse of genius and resources, and of intellectual activity the best directed on a single point, and towards a single end, that was ever, perhaps, found among men.

After this general sketch of the elements and resources of Athens, at the period of the administration of Pericles, the nature of our subject requires, that before speaking of the monuments themselves executed by Phidias, we should cast a glance backwards on the works produced in the space of about half a century, which formed the prelude to this sublime

flight of all the arts of imitation. In truth, there are but few preserved, I shall not say original monuments, but records historical belonging to this period, that we may be able to draw an exact and complete picture of it. But this very information, rare and insufficient as it is, is but the more valuable to gather; for, indeed, it cannot but be of the highest interest for us to know the immediate predecessors of Phidias, to learn in what school he had formed himself—to know, in fine, with the utmost possible exactness, what was the predominant style and the general characteristics of art before that period, which will be immortal for ever, when Phidias, stamping the seal of his genius on it, carried it, by so rapid a progress, and by so gigantic a flight to the highest degree of perfection it ever attained to. Three schools appear, in this interval from the 60th to the 75th Olympiad, to have furnished all the rest of Greece with artists and public monuments: they were those of Argos, Ægina, and Athens; and of all the masters which flourished at that period, the most celebrated, at once for the great works he produced, and for the numerous and skilful pupils he formed, seems to have been Ageladas of Argos. This artist is mentioned as the author of statues of gods, statues of conquering athletes, of chariots, and of horses consecrated at Olympia, all works executed in bronze, according to the custom of the time, and which embraced, indeed, from the very nature of their representations, almost the entire domain of imitation. But it is above all as master of Myron, of Polyclethus, and very probably also of Phidias, that Ageladas deserves to occupy a distinguished place in the history of art, in the same way as, in the history of modern art, the name of a pupil such as Raphael, reflects on the name of a master such as Perugino, a light superior, perhaps, to that which results from the works themselves of this great man.

The school of Athens had, then, for its head, the Athenian Hegias mentioned as cotemporary of Ageladas, and by whom a Minerva and a statue of Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, were works held in esteem. Anthenor, author of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which were carried off by Xerxes, and regained by conquest, by Alexander, appears also to have belonged to the same school, as he most certainly flourished in the same period. But of all the schools of that period, that of which we can best appreciate the taste and character, is unquestionably that of Ægina, which then possessed a great

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many distinguished artists, and of which there have come down to us monuments of the highest interest. Three artists born at Ægina, Anaxagoras, Glaucias, and Simon, mentioned as authors of several important works, such as the Jupiter in bronze, of the height of ten cubits, which the Greeks, conquerors at Plataea, consecrated at Olympia—it was the work of Anaxagoras—statues of several athletes or conquerors at the public games, among others, that of Gelon, prince of Syracuse, placed on a quadriga, the work of Glaucias, but above all *Onatas* and *Callon*, also natives of Ægina, shed on this school a light from the number and importance of their works, from the brilliancy and variety of their genius. *Onatas*, the most skilful and the latest painter, statuary, and caster in bronze, at the same time cultivated with almost equal success almost all the branches of art, and left, particularly in the domain of sculpture, some of the most beautiful monuments which had been produced; up to that time, *Callon* is considered, with much appearance of truth, as the author of the greater number of statues which adorned the pediments of the temple of Jupiter Pan Hellenius, at Ægina, and which, discovered a few years ago, under the ruins of this edifice, have presented to us, for the first time with every possible certainty, the style of the Æginetan school under its original and authentic form.

These statues, of which there ought to have been found from twenty-seven to thirty on each pediment, entirely isolated from the wall, against which they were placed and finished with as much care, on the back part, which could not be seen, as on the part which was presented to view, formed two vast compositions, the subject of which it is rather difficult to determine, from the state of imperfection and mutilation of the greater number of the figures, many of which exist but in fragments, while the rest are entirely wanting. But according to the most probable conjectures, these statues represent the combat for the body of Patroclus, between the Greeks and Trojans, on one of the pediments; and on the other, the battle which took place with regard to Hesion, against Laomedon and his sons by Telamon, Hercules, and their companions; two actions of heroic history, in which the inhabitants of Ægina felt a national interest on account of the part which the *Æacidæ* took in these events (their former sovereigns), and which for this reason were more suited for representation than any other subject on one of the most beautiful

monuments erected in the memory of Æacus. Whatever the subject may be, the difference of the costumes, which indicates an action between the Greeks and the barbarians, the very nature of this action, which cannot be any other than a combat from the varied and violent attitudes of the greater number of the figures, some standing or bending; others stooping down or on their knees, some extended with all the appearance of death: everything in this indicates one of the most animated scenes, and a composition the most suited to exhibit the different qualities of the art of that period, with regard to style, execution, expression, and costume. The first glance at these figures justifies, to a certain degree, and to an observer of little experience, the sole observation which has been handed down on the Æginetan style, and which has been made by Pausanias: namely, that *the works of this style can only be compared to those of the ancient Attic or Egyptian style*. There is in reality, in the character of the heads, in the details of the costume, and in the manner in which the beard, the hair, are treated, something archaic and conventional, undoubtedly derived from the habits and teachings of the primitive school. But there prevails at the same time, in the execution of the bodies, and the manner in which the *nude* is treated, such professional knowledge of anatomy, and an excellence of imitation carried to so high a degree of truth and illusion, that it is impossible to admit that such a style had ever in fact any connection with the *Egyptian school*, under whatever view, and at whatever period it may be considered. The following, moreover, are the principal characteristics of the Æginetan style, as they are to be found confirmed by the examination of these statues, found in Ægina itself, and most certainly produced in that school.

The *heads*, totally destitute of *expression*, or all reduced to a general and conventional expression, present in the oblique position of the eyes and mouth, that *forced smile*, which seems to have been a characteristic common to all productions of the ancient style, for we find it also on the most ancient medals, on vases of baked clay, and on bassi-rilievi of the primitive period belonging to almost all the Greek tribes. The *hair*, treated likewise in a systematic manner in small curls, or plaits, worked with wonderful industry, imitates not *real hair*, but *genuine wigs*, a peculiarity which could have been remarked on other works of ancient style, considered Etruscan, among

others, on the celebrated statuette of the Nani Museum. The *beard* is indicated on the cheeks by deep marks, and rarely worked in relief, but, in the latter case, so as to imitate a false beard, and consequently in the same system as the hair. The *costume* partakes of the same conventional and hieratic taste ; it consists in drapery, with straight and regular folds, falling in symmetrical and parallel masses, so as to imitate the real draperies in which the ancient statues in wood were draped, and of which I cannot give a better idea, and whose nature I cannot better explain, than by comparing them to the surplices of the Romish priests, folded in a parallel manner, and kept down by the means of a kind of preparation, which keeps them in a certain fixed form. This costume, so remarkable in itself, and which is to be found on so great a number of statues of ancient style, or in the style of imitation, was without doubt one of the most striking peculiarities by which the Æginetan style was recognised in Greece, although without doubt it was not exclusively peculiar to this school. However, the different features which I have just pointed out, are so manifestly to be referred to the same principle, to the imitation of statues in wood, the first objects of worship and of art among the Greeks, and of statues, which were covered with false hair, and real draperies, that it is impossible not to recognise in this principle, the origin of the Æginetan style. In another point of view, the genius for imitation, carried as far as it is possible in the expression of the forms of the body, although always accompanied by a little meagreness and dryness ; the truth of detail, the exquisite care of the execution, evince so profound a knowledge of the structure of the human body, so great a readiness of hand, in a word, an imitation of nature so skilful, and at once so simple, that one cannot but recognise in them the productions of an art which had arrived at a point the nearest to perfection : from whence there results that wonderful contrast, a real phenomenon in the history of the arts of imitation, and a characteristic feature of the school of Ægina, that contrast between a hieratic type so strongly stamped on one side, and on the other, an imitation so fully developed, and an art so completely emancipated. Now, what can be the causes which produced this singular direction of art, and which gave rise to so peculiar a taste, for such a long time maintained, and with so much perseverance in the school of Ægina alone? This would be doubtless one of the most

curious and most interesting subjects of research; but I acknowledge that in the state in which the history of art is found at present, I do not feel myself capable of answering this question in a satisfactory manner, and perhaps we shall never possess all the elements which would be necessary for the solution of this problem. The religious system was never sufficiently powerful or sufficiently exclusive in Greece to prescribe, as in Egypt, types for imitation, to impose trammels on the human mind, and restrictions on learning and industry; but yet it possessed in that country, without doubt, sufficient authority to regulate, in unison with the general taste, the conformation of certain idols, the adjustment of certain figures, to exercise some influence on the costume and on the symbolical portion of art, essentially linked with the religious worship. Hence, very probably the origin of that hieratic or sacerdotal type peculiar to the Æginetan school. Once that this type was consecrated by time, religion, and custom, it is not astonishing that art should adhere to it, as long as the people were attached to it. Hence also that long continued taste which, in stamping on monuments of art which were constantly produced, a kind of artificial antiquity, made them participate, for that very reason, in the respect which religious worship inspired, and rendered them, in some way, sacred as the religion itself. But as, on the other side, art had been by degrees emancipated, in the imitation of the human body, from the ancient trammels, which were linked with its incapability, just as much, and even still more, than they were with the religious system, the artists followed also in this school the general movement stamped on the minds of all, and succeeded in representing nature faithfully and skilfully, without renouncing entirely their conventional manner. But it is in regard to this latter point that the real difficulty in the question is to be found, and I confess a second time, that I am in possession of no reasons or facts to solve it. However, whatever may be the explanation, more or less complete, more or less certain, which can be given of this phenomenon, the principal fact, that which results from the very knowledge of the Æginetan style henceforward admits of no doubt; and this fact, one of the great archæological conquests of our century, is sufficient for our instruction; it serves to establish without a shadow of doubt, the Greek origin of a numerous class of monuments, statues, bronzes, bas-reliefs, terra-cottas,

which at the time of Winckelmann, and almost in our own time, were considered Etruscan; it fills up an immense gap, in the history of the development of Greek art, for between the productions of the earliest and those of the perfect period, we can place only, more frequently by the aid of simple conjectures, vases, medals, engraved stones, which are doubtless very curious, and very important, but which from their nature and their size, can never give of the art which produced them, but a too imperfect and too confused an idea; it restores in fine to the history of the arts of the ancients an entire school, a school as fruitful as it was celebrated, which, up to this time had but a place in the recollections of the past: three important results of this discovery, which without doubt deserved to be pointed out to your attention, with all the interest which is connected with it, and with all the details necessary to imprint them on your memory.

I ought not to conclude these observations, without pointing out here some of the principal monuments belonging to the same style, and very probably produced in this intermediate period, when art, furnished with every resource, was exercised in all its skill, but under the influence of the system and, very probably, in the school I have spoken of. In point of statues, I shall particularly point out the figures called those of *Hope*, as they are to be frequently seen on *Roman Medals* of large bronze, on *Greek Mosaics*, on *engraved stones*, and on several statues, two among others at the Villa Albani, and at the Villa Rospigliosi, at Rome. I shall also mention the Diana and the Minerva, from Herculaneum, the so-called Vestale Giustiniani and the Barberini muse, which is an Apollo Musagetes, these last statues marking in a most palpable manner the progress of art, and the transition from a narrow and mannered style to a large and grand style. With regard to bas-reliefs, one of the most remarkable in every respect is that of the Museum of the Capitol, which represents three figures of women draped, preceded by a naked satyr, with the name of the author of this monument, Callimachus. The draperies of the three women exhibit those numerous regular and rigid folds, which partake entirely of the Æginetan school. The postures of these personages belong to the same style, though somewhat less rigid and forced; they walk on the tops of their toes, their fingers are long and straight, as in the most ancient works of art; but at the same time there is in the general movement

of these figures more nature and truth, more just proportions, truer forms, and in the features of the face, particularly in the face of the Faun, a sentiment of beauty, already carried to a certain degree of the ideal, which proves that art was from that moment beginning to cast off the last links of its antique and sacred chain. We have now arrived at that point when there was nothing wanting to art but a great man in order to accomplish its entire destiny. This man was Phidias, and our next lecture shall be devoted entirely to an examination of the life and works of this artist, so eminent for the qualities of his genius, and who was not the less favoured by fortune, for he was born at Athens, and lived under Pericles.

TWELFTH LECTURE.

Of Phidias—Examination of some circumstances of his life, on the determination of which depends the order of his principal works—Details on his works—The Minerva of the Parthenon—The Jupiter Olympius—Idea which ought to be formed of the style of the school of Phidias—Sculptures of the Parthenon—Conclusion.

THERE are some men, whose name is a source of glory to the whole human race, whose history does not belong alone to the country or the age which produced them, but to every country and to every age. Such certainly is Phidias, who first carried imitation to the highest degree of perfection which it ever attained to, and who has remained for so many centuries the greatest name in the history of art, and one of the greatest names in the whole civilised world. But the very place which Phidias occupies in this history, and the importance which for this reason alone he obtained in that of his age and of his country, require that, before speaking of his works, I should introduce some circumstances of his life, which are necessary to know in order to fix the period of his principal works, and which are also deserving of interest, even if it were on account of the historic difficulties which are to be met with, and for the sake of the great man they are concerned about. Phidias was an Athenian, the son of Charmidas, and first cousin of Panæus, a celebrated painter whom he employed as fellow-labourer in several of his works; his master was Hippias, who is only known for this reason, and Ageladas of Argos, the head of the most celebrated school of his time. The exact period of his birth is unknown, as well as that of his first works, and the employment of his first years; but from the great number, and the importance of the works which occupied the last portion of his life, which closed on the first year of the 87th Olympiad, 432 B.C., and from the very nature of the works which were the beginning of his reputation, viz., statues consecrated in memory of the victories of Marathon and Plataea, and made from the booty of these victories, his birth cannot be referred to a later date than the 72nd or earlier than the 70th Olympiad,

that is to say that he must be placed, according to all appearance, between the years 490 and 498 B.C. If the date of his birth is unknown, if the order of his works is uncertain, there is not much more certainty with regard to the manner and place of his death, and with regard to the period of the execution of his Jupiter Olympius; this is even one of the most difficult, and the most debated of all questions relative to Phidias; and as it is also that which is of most importance and interest with respect to the history of art itself, it is right that we should dwell for a moment on it. According to very different narratives, and, in all appearance equally worthy of credit, Phidias, accused of having appropriated to himself a part of the gold destined to form the mantle of the Minerva of the Parthenon, was cast into prison, where he died, according to Plutarch, whence he escaped according to Philochorus, and took refuge among the Eleans, and it was then that he undertook for the latter his Jupiter Olympius, after which he died, if we must believe the same Philochorus, *by the hands of the Eleans themselves*. This last circumstance, though entirely wanting in circumstantial evidence, and in all appearance apocryphal, has however caused a second accusation of fraud to be surmised under which Phidias must have fallen; and a modern historian has even gone further, affirming in the most solemn tone, and in the most positive terms, that Phidias, *twice convicted of a disgraceful crime*, was hanged as a thief. There are some people always ready to vilify genius, and who consider it a fortunate chance when they have it in their power to hang a man of genius, were it even in effigy or on paper. But fortunately, these evidences of culpable levity, and disgraceful partiality, only bring odium on the writer who admits them in his writings; the memory of Phidias never had to suffer, even in ancient times, from the injustice or ignorance of his detractors, and the respect due to his genius has been only increased by the interest attached to his misfortunes.

The most detailed narrative, the most deserving of credit in every respect, and also confirmed in several circumstances by other testimonies, is that of Plutarch, who relates that Phidias having become, on account of his intimate connection with Pericles, the object of those political animosities which the latter had drawn on himself, was accused by the enemies of Pericles of having appropriated to his own uses a portion of the gold destined for the drapery of Minerva. But, as Pericles

had for a long time foreseen that it was possible an accusation of that kind might be proposed by his adversaries, and received by the people, Phidias had, according to his instructions, so arranged things that the mantle of the statue could be taken off, which was done; and the mantle of Minerva, carried into the assembly and weighed before the eyes of the people, confounded the insolence of the accusers, and quashed the accusation. But animosity, repelled on this ground, was not crushed, and there are, as is well known, never wanting pretexts unjust or legitimate, to political animosities. Independently of the friendship of Pericles, which was already for Phidias a great crime in the eyes of the adversaries of the former, the artist possessed, in the eyes of his own rivals, a far greater fault still, in his very superiority, in the number, splendour, and fame of his works. They sought means of attacking him in a composition with which he had adorned the shield of his Minerva. The subject was, the combat of the Athenian heroes against the Amazons, a subject which has since become so popular, and so frequently reproduced, doubtless after the model of Phidias, on a number of monuments of art, painted vases, bas-reliefs, terra cottas. In this composition Phidias had represented himself as a *bald old man* raising a stone with both hands, and Pericles was also represented upon it *with features of the most perfect beauty*, fighting against an Amazon, and brandishing his lance on a level with his face, so as to conceal a portion of it. His enemies attacked him for this profane license, of having dared to introduce his own image and that of Pericles among the heroic figures employed for the decoration of a sacred monument. This time the accusation was admitted, and Phidias, cast into prison, died there of disease, according to one tradition, or, according to another narrative, of poison prepared by the enemies of Pericles, in order that the latter should be found guilty of the death of his friend. Such is the version of Plutarch, which, in my opinion, is, with the exception of the last circumstance, the sole authentic, and the sole deserving of credence. From this we learn that Phidias, at the period when he had finished his Minerva was already advanced in years, since he represented himself as a bald old man; and as we know that this statue was placed, and dedicated in the temple of Parthenon, the third year of the 85th Olympiad, 438 B.C., he must have been about fifty-eight or sixty, if he was born, as we have presumed,

between the 70th and 72nd Olympiads, which shows that our calculation is but little removed from the truth. We learn further, in this narrative, that the custom of representing portraits, real faces, even among the accessory ornaments of the great works of art, was up to this time banished from the domain of art, since it could be imputed as a crime against the author himself, for having placed on the shield of the Minerva his own countenance as well as that of Pericles, in spite of the double precaution he had taken with regard to the latter in representing him very beautiful, and in concealing, by his attitude a portion of his countenance; whence it follows that the ideal style, which then prevailed in all its severity, and was carried to its complete perfection, had been formed by an improved imitation of a chosen subject, and not by the expression of an individual subject, as has been the case among the moderns: an important observation which I shall merely remark here, and of which, on some future occasion, I shall adduce the proof, and deduce some of its consequences. With regard to the death of Phidias, which took place in the prisons of Athens, related by Plutarch, on the authority of two contradictory versions, we must reject it, inasmuch as it is positively contradicted by other testimonies, such as that of Philochorus, who assures us that Phidias, having escaped from prison, took refuge in Elis, where he died seven years later, after having finished his Jupiter Olympius: from the silence of all antiquity, and especially from that of Aristophanes, the cotemporary of Phidias, who speaks of the accusation raised against him, as the spark which lighted up the Peloponnesian war, and of his flight as being the cause of peace, without saying a word of his condemnation and death: finally, from all the traditions of the Eleans, in which the memory of Phidias, preserved with religious veneration, was still alive six centuries after his death, at the period when Pausanias visited Elis. Now, the period of the completion of the Jupiter Olympius is undoubtedly fixed for a period later than the 86th Olympiad, from the date of the victory of the young Pantarces, whose image and name Phidias engraved on several parts of his statue; and, as the death of Phidias himself took place in the following Olympiad, 87, under the archonship of Pythodorus, in the year 432 B.C., it results necessarily from all those facts that between the year 438, when the Minerva of the Parthenon was consecrated at Athens, and the year

432, in which Phidias died, we can only place the accusation raised against this great man, his flight to Elis, and the execution, undertaken and completed by him, in the course of these six years, of the last and most wonderful of all his works, his Jupiter Olympius. These are facts established from traditions the most deserving of credence, in their natural and genuine order. And the following are the consequences which result from them: Phidias was not condemned as a thief, for, having come off victorious in an accusation of that kind, having escaped from Athens after a second accusation of sacrilege, he found an honourable reception among the Eleans, and was entrusted by them with a work in which gold was also employed in a considerable quantity; he did not die in the prisons of Athens as Sillig relates, in order to reconcile the opposite accounts of Plutarch and Philochorus; for one cannot conceive for what reason Phidias should have quitted his retreat at Elis, to go and present himself to the resentment of his enemies at Athens, increased more than ever by his late successes: lastly, he must have been about sixty-six, and not more than eighty, as Quatremère de Quincy asserts without any reason, when he closed among the Eleans his illustrious and laborious career, after having given his last touch to his last masterpiece. Now, did he succumb beneath a second accusation of theft, as Philochorus seems to say, and as has been said and repeated in terms more or less decisive, by a number of modern writers? It is evident that it is a trivial interpretation added to the text of Philochorus by a Scholiast of Aristophanes, which has caused this misunderstanding, and one sees to how many different accidents the memory of men is exposed, since it depends but on the mistake of a commentator, on the fault of the copyist, or even on the insertion of a simple word in a corrupt text, in order to brand with infamy the most illustrious name, and to calumniate the most brilliant renown. But fortunately, here, facts come to support a rational presumption, and to confound all these absurd or ridiculous assertions.

The name of Phidias remained in such veneration in Elis, that the house that he occupied, the workshop where he had worked, converted into a sanctuary, with an altar in the middle, consecrated to all the gods, still received, six centuries after the death of the artist, in the time of Pausanias, the homage of the Greeks. The family of Phidias was perpetuated in Elis,

in the priesthood of the Jupiter Olympius, and the descendants of this great man were charged under the name Phaidruntai with maintaining pure from accidental soil, and all injury from time, the statue itself, which was the masterpiece of art and that of their ancestor. Are these honours reserved for sacrilege and infamy? and when, moreover, all antiquity is silent on such an imputation; when, on the contrary, the homage of every age has expiated the error of a moment, and avenged the memory of a great man from political injustice, which had indeed nothing humiliating in itself, and which was but too well countenanced, so to speak, by so many illustrious examples of Athenian ingratitude, is it becoming in writers who respect themselves, and who respect truth, to admit and propagate such imputations, and to hold up to scorn, with a kind of malicious pleasure and mean satisfaction, a great man in the pages of history? This is doubtless already too much on this point, and I must claim your indulgence for having stopped for a few moments to refute the flippant remarks of a compiler such as Moreri, or of an historian such as Schloetzer, when it is enough, in order to confute them, to pronounce the name of a Phidias. Let us now speak of his works, which is the best means of dissipating any remains of ill-humour, which a discussion of that kind could have caused. One of the first works of Phidias seems to have been the execution of *thirteen statues* in bronze from the booty of Marathon, and consecrated at Delphi, under the administration of Cimon; they were statues of Apollo, Minerva, Miltiades, with those of the ten heroes Eponymi, or heroes who had given their names to the ten Athenian tribes. A Minerva, executed for the inhabitants of Pellene in gold, and in ivory, another Minerva, erected from the produce of the spoils of Marathon, for the inhabitants of Plataea; this latter was in *wood gilt*, with the extremities, that is to say, the head, the feet, and the hands, in Pentelican marble; had each a claim to priority among the known works of Phidias, and consequently ought to be considered as the productions of his youth. We have already mentioned three Minervas from the hand of Phidias; in ancient times there were six others in existence, that is to say, nine in all from the same hand, on which Phidias had without doubt exhausted all the combinations which this type, so favourable to art, could offer to the genius of the artist, of a martial virgin and warlike heroine, but of which I shall merely indicate the three

principal from which alone it is possible to form some idea, either by more detailed descriptions, or even by imitations which have come down to us of them. The first in order of time is the Minerva Poliades, or tutelary, in bronze probably gilt, also cast from the spoils of Marathon, and placed in the Acropolis between the Propylæa and the Parthenon. It was a colossus of considerable height; for the point of its lance and the plume of its helmet were conspicuous from afar on the sea to the navigators who were doubling Cape Sunium; its shield was adorned with the *combat of the Centaurs and of the Lapithæ* in bas-relief, executed by the celebrated sculptor Mys, from the designs of Parrhasius. This was the *great Minerva*, celebrated by Demosthenes, as the trophy of war against the Barbarians, erected by a common contribution of all the Greeks. It was this statue which, nine centuries later, in the year 395 of our æra, still presented itself in all its majesty to the eyes of the barbarian Alaric. We see it represented, in the very place it occupied, though very small in proportion, it is true, on the rare medal of Athens, and imitated in a style and of a dimension which can make us better judge of its original character, in some beautiful ancient statues, such as the Minerva Gius-tiniani and the Pallas of Velletri, which are probably copies of it; it was Minerva, the Protectress, but with a mild countenance, as she is seen in the above-mentioned medal, and not in the warlike attitude of the Promachos, as M. Boettiger would have it; the brow disarmed of all menace, with those ample and powerful forms, and in that grave and solemn attitude which characterised, in the tutelar divinity of the Acropolis, the image itself of the great destiny of Athens. A second Minerva, also consecrated in the Acropolis, and executed also in bronze, was considered as the most finished of the works of Phidias, which were to be seen in the same place; it was called the beautiful, pre-eminently so, on account of its extreme beauty, or the Lemnian, because it was a gift of the Lemnians, to whom it had belonged. Lucian, who describes this beautiful statue in glowing terms, admires chiefly the pleasing outline of its countenance, the softness of its cheeks, the proportion of its nose; it seems, in fact, that the author had bestowed on it every feature of beauty which could be suited to Minerva, and that he surpassed himself in it, in his own eyes, for he placed his name on it. It was, therefore, of all the combinations, suited to the style of Minerva, that in which

the masculine severity of a virgin warrior was found the most closely linked with all the perfection of divine beauty.

But, of all the ancient statues of Minerva, the most celebrated was that which was executed for the Parthenon, or the Virgin, pre-eminently so. It was a colossus of gold and ivory, about thirty-seven feet high, without including the base, which might be from about eight to ten feet high; whence it follows that the total height of the monument could not be less than forty-five feet, and thus was raised nearly as high as the temple, the roof of which could not be more than fifty feet above the ground. It would not be impossible to restore, at least in imagination, an image, doubtless very imperfect, of this admirable work, by the assistance of the scattered hints which the ancients have handed down to us. In regard to the composition itself of such a colossus, the details in regard to it are so much the more valuable to collect, inasmuch as they refer to a branch of art absolutely foreign to our ideas: the marble proposed at first by Phidias, as a less expensive material, was rejected unanimously by the people, from this very reason. At the word economy used by Phidias, all Athens rose up, because the statue of its tutelary divinity was in question; and we may believe that Phidias, who knew the minds of his fellow-citizens, did not pronounce without intention a word, the consequence of which he foresaw, and which would have, without doubt, produced a very contrary effect. It was, therefore, solemnly decided that only the richest and the most precious materials, *gold* and *silver*, should be employed. Plato says that the eyes, the face, the hands, and feet, that is, the nude parts were in ivory, all the rest, the draperies, and the accessories, were in gold. The sum employed in the execution of this part of the monument is differently related by ancient authors; it varies from 40 to 50 talents; but, inclining to the most moderate estimation, which is that of a contemporary, of the gravest historian, and the most deserving of credit, Thucydides, the quantity of massive gold employed, of a thickness more or less considerable, could not be less than 100,000*l.* of our money—a prodigious sum, and which must have appeared so in the eyes of the Greeks themselves, for, in the statement presented by Pericles to the people, of the state of its resources to support the war of the Peloponnesus, he includes, with the engagement that it is to be returned, the gold of the Minerva of the Parthenon. The greater portion of

this gold was employed in the drapery of the statue, which consisted in a long tunic, and a peplos or mantle, thrown over; the rest was used in the accessories, the helmet, the lance, and the shield, and a small statue of Victory, which the goddess held in her right hand. I have already said that the drapery was arranged in such a manner that it could be taken off: It was in fact once taken off when it was necessary to confound the audacity of the enemies of Phidias, or rather of Pericles. Afterwards, in the time of Demetrius Phalereus, the mantle of gold of the goddess was carried off by Lachares, who made himself remarkable, as Pausanias says, *for his cruelty to men, and for his impiety towards the gods*, and it does not appear that this rich mantle was ever restored to the shoulders of Minerva. At a still more ancient period, the mask in gold of the Gorgon, had tempted the cupidity of a certain Philorgus, and as Athens was then less rich or less generous, this mask in gold was replaced by a mask in ivory, as Pausanias still saw it. Such was this colossal statue, an immense treasure with regard to the material, and doubtless of still greater value, with regard to art. Minerva was represented standing robed with a *tunica talaria*, and her breast covered with the formidable *Ægis*; with her right hand she held a lance, resting on a sphinx; in the left she held a statue of Victory, about four cubits or five feet nine inches high; her helmet—the most remarkable part, and always the richest and the most elaborate portion of her costume—her helmet was surmounted by a sphinx, emblem of celestial intelligence, two griffins, placed in the lateral parts, presented an analogous emblem; and over the visor, eight horses in front, in full gallop, presented a sublime image of the power and the rapidity with which the divine mind acts. The shield, erect, at the feet of the goddess, was adorned on both sides with bas-reliefs; on the interior, the combat of the Giants and the Gods; on the exterior, the combat of the Athenians and Amazons.

It was in this last composition, that Phidias, as I have already remarked, placed his portrait and that of Pericles; and with regard to this portrait, there exists, in a treatise attributed to Aristotle, an anecdote which deserves to be related: that the ingenious artist, in carving his image on the shield of the goddess, had it so arranged that it could not be detached without breaking up the entire mechanism of the work: which means, according to a plausible, as well as

natural interpretation, that this head of Phidias formed one of the nails or screws which connected, on the inside, the different parts of this colossus, composed entirely of pieces bound together. All the other accessories of this monument were treated with equal care, with equal magnificence. Thus Pliny, who, despairing of ever reaching, by the sublimity of his expressions, to that of the statue itself, confined himself to a description of inferior details only, remarks, that on the sandals of Minerva, which were of gold, were represented the combat of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, and that the base of the statue, on which we know, from other testimonies, that Phidias worked alone during several months, was adorned with a bas-relief representing the birth of Pandora, in the centre of about twenty divinities, bringing presents to the first woman.

Such was this famous statue, which, however, we should be inclined to censure, as the superficial critics of the last century, Caylus, Falconet, and others have done, for the excess of the richness of the material, and the profusion of the ornaments, did we not know that every thing on it was distributed with so much art and understanding, that *even in the smallest things a magnificence equal to that which the artist had displayed in the entire, was to be remarked*; these are the very words of Pliny. Besides, all antiquity was unanimous on this point; that exactness and finish of detail possessed an equal share in the genius of Phidias, as the sublime and the majestic, and this man who, so to speak, played with colossi, stamped the perfection of his art on a *grasshopper* and on a *bee* in bronze, as well as on his Jupiter Olympius. In a word, all flowed in the works of Phidias from this double principle, that the colossus considered from afar under its true point of view, imposed by the power of the mass, by the grandeur of the proportions, by the elevation of the style; and that each detail considered nearer, and under different points of view by reason of the size of the objects, excited an equal interest by the exquisite finish of the execution; an admirable principle, which, in the beautiful period of modern painting, served also as a basis to the instruction and practice of art, when the most skilful masters, great in the aggregate, did not the less seek to be so in the details, and when the nobleness and elevation of the style, the sublimity of the subjects and conceptions were never separated from a finished execution in the least things,

from a perfect imitation in the smallest accessories, which far from injuring the general effect, imparted in addition to the admiration due to the entire work, a kind of religious impression, from the very care the stamp of which it bore. You will doubtless inquire if any imitation, more or less exact, has come down to us, some reminiscence of a master-piece, which for a long time turned on Athens the admiration of the world, of a work on which the Athenians forbade the artist, by a decree, to place his name, in order that they might receive to themselves alone the honour of such an undertaking, which they deserved at least from the sacrifices it had cost them? We may entertain some doubts that the beautiful Minerva Giustiniani, and the superb Pallas of Velletri, are copies of the Minerva Poliades, or of that of the Parthenon. Each of these two opinions have partisans of high authority, among which I shall not venture to claim a place; but it is beyond all doubt that the numerous tetradrachmæ of Athens, in the beautiful style, have handed down to us the head of the Minerva of the Parthenon, as it is also to be seen represented on the celebrated engraved stone of Aspasia, almost in the style of, and a nearer approach to, on this stone, the character of the art of the successors of Alexander, than it is in accordance with the style of Phidias himself. Moreover, among all the ancient statues of Minerva, that which bears the greatest resemblance, in the treatment, in the character of the head, and in all the accessories, to the model of Phidias, is indisputably that of the Villa Albani, of which there exist some repetitions, but in an inferior state of preservation. Pressed by time, I shall not dwell on the other works of Phidias executed at Athens; I shall with all haste follow the steps of Phidias himself in Elis, when the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, recently finished, was still waiting for the statue which was to be the master-piece of its author, the miracle of art, and the loftiest manifestation of the god himself. The artist worked on it for six years, which were the last of his life, assisted by his pupil Colotes, by his cousin Panænus, and by his children, that is to say, by a whole school of artists who had accompanied him in his retreat, and which was not the escort of a man branded with infamy by a capital accusation, or of one who had escaped from a disgraceful imprisonment. It is here chiefly that I would experience, and that I would make you sensible of the insufficiency of language, in order to

render manifest that beauty, as it dwells in the excellent works of art, as it was stamped in so high a degree on the colossus of Olympia, should I attempt to restore by words, what, destroyed by time, can never be understood except by the eye, and which can never be restored except in the imagination. I must only search among the testimonies of antiquity, and among monuments themselves, if there remains aught which could have any connection with it, some scattered feature of this great work of ancient art; and with regard to the character of the entire, and the merit of the work, which it is no longer in our power to fully appreciate, convinced as you must be that the Jupiter Olympius never had a rival, I shall leave it to your own imaginations to form an idea of it the most suited to its model. It is well known that, in the conception of his Jupiter Olympius, Phidias wished to render manifest, and that he had succeeded in realising, the sublime image under which Homer represents the Master of the gods. The artist embodied that image in the following manner. The god was seated on a throne, the ornaments of which, in regard to art and the material, surpassed all that had been hitherto produced, all that had been ever accomplished. Ebony, gold, ivory, precious stones, formed, with a multitude of sculptured and painted figures, the wonderful composition of this throne, fit seat for the Master of the gods. Gold and ivory were used in the entire figure, in the same manner as has been said previously with regard to the Minerva of the Parthenon—namely, that the nude parts were in ivory, and the drapery in gold. The god had his head crowned with olive, and his hair, parted, and curling over his brow, produced that impression of deep terror which the artist had derived from the poet. In one hand Jupiter held the sceptre, a brilliant collection of every kind of metal, surmounted by an eagle. In the other hand he carried a Victory, also of gold and ivory, and its head crowned in the same manner, which, with both hands, presented a fillet to the Master of the gods; a natural and sublime image of every honour being referred to their supreme source. The upper portion of the god—the head, the breast, and the arms—all that was noble, and, so to speak, divine, in the human form, was nude, and the rest of the body enveloped in a mantle, on which were painted all kinds of figures and flowers, emblems of nature, animated and fertilised by the power of the gods. With regard to the proportions of the

statue, which was one of the chief elements of the wonderful effects it produced, the contradictory accounts which were disseminated in ancient times, prove, from the importance which the priests themselves attached to the concealment of the true measure, that it was, even at that time, very difficult to know it, and that it would be at the present day almost useless to endeavour to discover it. However, a remark made by Strabo will be of some use in endeavouring to form an appropriate idea of it. Strabo observes, that the god seated, almost reached to the height of the roof: so that, he adds, *if he had risen, he would have carried away the roof*. The height of the temple being known by the measurements which have come down to us, and by the resemblance it bore to the Parthenon of Athens, and this height not being less than fifty-four feet in the interior, it follows from this that the entire colossus, including the base, could not be less than fifty-five feet in proportion, or about forty-five feet in height, as it was seated. Thus the god reached almost to the full height of the temple; he could neither raise himself, nor make a single movement on his seat, without carrying off the roof of his temple, without destroying it: as the god himself could not make a single nod of his head, without shaking all Olympus—a sublime conception, by which this colossus impressed on the mind a terrible idea of the immensity of the Supreme Being. One can easily conceive what effect the first appearance of this masterpiece must have produced at that time on minds which were indeed prepared for it by religious ideas, and by the Olympic solemnities; and when the long curtain of purple, which usually concealed it from sight, was withdrawn, in the midst of clouds of incense, of the smoke of sacrifices, the chanting of prayers and music, which filled the sacred enclosure, one can easily conceive that the Roman Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Greece, felt moved and agitated, as if in the presence of Jupiter himself: “Jovem velut præsentem intuens motus animo est.” You are doubtless anxious to hear what was the destiny of this masterpiece, and to know if there remain any feeble images of it. The admiration it excited from the very beginning did not pass away with the lapse of ages, nor with the generations which followed.

In the age of the Antonines; nearly six centuries after that of Phidias, the pilgrimage to Olympia, in order to behold the colossus of Jupiter was still one of the popular follies of which

the Stoic Epictetus complained; and, according to the account of this philosopher, *it was still considered a misfortune for any one of his cotemporaries to die without having seen the masterpiece of Phidias.*

At a later period, in the age of Julian the Apostate, the Jupiter of Olympia, seated, and as if unassailable on its throne, continued to receive there the homage of Greece, in spite of every kind of attack, which the convert zeal of Constantine had made against polytheism, its temples and its idols. But this is the last notice which we possess on the existence of this masterpiece: authentic information does not come down further than the age of Julian. It has been said and repeated, on the authority of Winckelmann, and on the credit of some Byzantine writer, that the Jupiter of Olympia, the Venus of Gnidos, the Juno of Samos, continued to be admired at Constantinople as late as the eleventh century, and that they perished not until the taking of the town by the Crusaders in 1204. But according to accounts more deserving of credit, the greater number of the works which have been mentioned, were destroyed, in the burning of the palace of Lausus, about the year 475, under the emperor Basilicus; and with regard to the Jupiter, there is nothing to prove that it was ever transported from Olympia to Constantinople. Such a mass, composed entirely of connected parts, and of precious materials, could doubtless never have resisted the danger of such a voyage, at a period when so many passions, raised against the ancient worship, conspired in unison to complete its ruin. Everything induces us to believe that the Jupiter of Phidias was destroyed on the spot, in those ages of decline, when fanaticism broke or mutilated the ancient idols, when the necessities of religious worship, and of the state claimed the materials, when individual cupidity, in concert with general superstition, shared the fragments.

Thus perished obscurely this work of genius, which for a long time had enjoyed so brilliant a destiny, without even the sound of its fall finding an echo in history; and, we must admit, such was nearly the fate of all the beautiful monuments of ancient art, which Christianity used every endeavour to destroy or to devote to a different purpose, sometimes by converting the temples to its own use, which at least served to preserve them, as happened in the case of the Temple of Theseus, and the Parthenon at Athens, the Temple of Concord

at Agrigentum, and the Pantheon at Rome ; sometimes, and unfortunately the most frequently, by removing the columns which supported them, by carrying off the statues, and bas-reliefs with which they were decorated, and putting them to the vilest uses, or using them as the most common materials. It would be superfluous to search among the works of antiquity which have come down to us, for an image however feeble it may be, of this masterpiece of Greek art. The Jupiter Verospi, the most beautiful ancient statue which we possess of this god, and which appears to be an imitation of the colossus of Olympia, cannot convey an idea of it, no more than those small figures in bronze, frequently seen in cabinets, and those numerous representations of *Jupiter seated, with the sceptre in its hand, and the eagle or Victory*, such as they are to be seen on the tetradrachmæ of Alexander and his successors, or on the large bronzes of the empire. Here every imitation is imperfect, every comparison useless ; for the representations, large as well as small, are all equally too much below the work of Phidias, in order to serve as points of comparison, relatively to the style of this work.

But we possess elements the most fitted to make us appreciate if not the *manner* of Phidias, at least the *taste* and *character* of his school, in the original sculptures taken from the Parthenon, and which at the present day form the invaluable ornaments of England : all Europe echoed with the debate which was held in the British Parliament in order to determine the value of these sculptures, and to fix their price. The national artists and antiquarians were divided in opinion with regard to the merit of these works ; and in general, this opinion inclined to place the sculptures of the Parthenon in the second rank among the ancient monuments which have come down to us. A foreigner was called in to decide this great debate, which was, finally, to resolve itself into guineas, and this sole arbiter, this supreme judge, was a man whom England borrowed from France, whence he had come from Italy ; it was the illustrious Visconti, the prince of the antiquaries of our age. It did not require any very lengthened research for this profound interpreter of ancient monuments to appreciate at their just value, to place in their real position, sculptures which although mutilated in every manner, bear the unchangeable stamp of genius. The excellence of these works, which issued from the workshop of Phidias, was proclaimed.

The naked figures, in better preservation, or more entire, such as the Ilissus and Theseus, were placed above all known sculptures. The draped figures assumed also a rank at the head of all statues of this kind, the most perfect we possess.

The most beautiful works of ancient art, which up to this period had been without rivals, the Apollo, the Laocoon, the Torso, descended from that lofty position which they had hitherto occupied in public opinion, and were placed in different ranks, according as they approached more or less to this sublime school, in which the most elevated ideal was united with the most exquisite truth. The Torso alone maintained its place as second in position, or almost by the side of the sculptures of Phidias. In a word, the appearance of this master of ancient art, in the domain of monuments which have come down to us, was sufficient to place each object in its place, by their taking possession, without difficulty, of the first place; and the admiration of the ancients was justified, at the same time that modern art obtained an infallible rule and an inimitable model. However, a last observation is necessary here. These sculptures which emanated from the mind of Phidias, and were most certainly executed under his eyes and in his school, are not the works of his hands. Phidias, himself, disdained or worked but little in marble. They were his most skilful pupils, Alcamenes or Agoracrites, and most probably the latter, who executed the sculptures in alto relievo, placed in the two pediments; and they were artists without name, but certainly not without merit, who produced from the designs of Phidias, the bas-reliefs of the frieze with which the Parthenon was decorated in its entire circumference. Thus these monuments of so beautiful an art, are not, indeed, the work of Phidias himself; they reveal to us his mind, his genius, but not by an immediate and direct impression; they exhibit to us a perfection of which we had no idea; but still it is not that of which the genius of Phidias was capable, if we could behold it in his original productions; and it is not certainly that with which we would be struck, if some chance, unfortunately impossible at the present day, should cause to appear suddenly before our eyes in all the splendour of its worship, that sublime Jupiter of Olympia before which all antiquity prostrated itself.

GENTLEMEN,

I shall now conclude; at some future time I shall enter upon the history of art among the Greeks from the age of Phidias. Meanwhile, allow me to offer my thanks for the assiduity and attention, with which you have listened to lectures which are necessarily jejune in their subject. A simple and modest antiquary, such as I am, entirely devoted to those studies which possess a charm for me, I cannot but feel deeply touched at the indulgence you have shown me, and it is by my further endeavours to justify it by my labours, that I shall attempt to show my gratitude.

THE END.



